The Forum

APRIL, 1923

EDUCATING FOR SEVEN LIVES

By WILLIAM GEORGE JORDAN

MAN does not live one life only in this world; he lives seven. He lives a physical life, a mental life, a moral and ethical life, a social life, a civic life, an aesthetic and emotional life, and a spiritual life. These seven lives constitute all there is to living. They cover every possible relation of the individual—to himself, to those around him, to the world and to his God.

What of the vocational life? This is but a blending of two or more of these lives into a specialized activity. What of man's rest, leisure, recreation? This is not a life in itself. It means merely shifting the emphasis of intensity from some one of these lives to some other as when a man tired by the mental strain of business turns to the physical exercise of golf, the aesthetic pleasure of music or the drama, or the delights of the social life. As all men and women live all these lives, in varying degrees of intensity, and as every child begins early to live them, should not Education train the individual in each of them that he may live all of them at his best?

Education concentrates on the mental and fails hopelessly even in this one. The intellectual life is only a part of our

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living. We are all controlled more by our sentiments, feelings, emotions, affections and passions than by clear, calm, cold reason, therefore they too should be trained.

To see how miserable has been the failure of education, let us try a bold experiment. Let us forget absolutely that the world has now or ever has had any system of education. Suppose then, for the first time in human history, the brilliant idea occurred to the mind of some man that as we have to send our boys and girls out into life, to meet the problems of life and living, it would be a good thing to have some kind of public institutions to prepare them and to train them. This proposed process he would call "education."

Free as a lark from any hampering thought of tradition, authority or precedent, and not even concerned at first with problems of how it could be done, he would begin to expand his great idea, to make blue-prints of his new invention. He would dream out on paper his vision of what should be his ideal. He would think over his own mistakes and blunderings and the qualities, powers and abilities he needed and which he should have had, if "education" had been known when he was a boy.

His thought would turn lovingly and solicitously to the future of his boy and his girl, the children so dear to him. What was the training and preparation that would inspire and guide them to lead lives that would be best for themselves and for the world. Then he would write boldly at the top of his first sheet the heading: "What I Expect Education to Do for My Boy and My Girl."

Physical. They should have strong healthy bodies which they had been trained to respect, to nurture and to control. They should breathe, sit, stand, walk, run and eat correctly. They should know how the simple laws of hygiene and the simple physical exercises that would keep them well and strong under normal conditions.

Mental. They should have each of their senses trained to highest efficiency. Their perception, observation, memories, judgment, imagination, reasoning, concentration, will,

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should be continuously and progressively exercised and trained. They should be trained to love their native language and be so exercised in it that they would think in it and speak it with clearness and force. They should be trained to order, thoroughness, accuracy and rapidity in thoughts and act. They should be exercised in conversation and every phase of self-expression. Their minds should be trained to be ready on the instant, not the next day.

Moral and Ethical. They should have a clear, simple, sound working code, based on honor, right, truth and justice. They should be so trained that living it daily would become a simple, natural automatic part of their living.

Social. They should be trained, by conscious exercise that would later become unconscious expression, in all the social conventions, civilities, and courtesies that would make them agreeable, companionable and dependable.

Civic. They should be trained for citizenship in all its phases. They should know the fundamentals and broad principles of the working of the government under which they live, trained to realize their duties, responsibilities and powers and be exercised in practice to meet them and to fulfil them so that they could become worthy citizens.

Aesthetic and Emotional. Their sentiments, emotions, feelings and affections should be called forth, explained, stimulated, appealed to and placed under their conscious control. They should be inspired by love and inspired to love the good, the beautiful and the true in all things. They should be trained to know, to recognize, to appreciate, and to love the beautiful in Nature, humanity, literature, music, painting, architecture, sculpture and the drama.

Spiritual. They should be trained to realize and to feel that the spiritual dominates and is superior to the material, that the universe is governed by eternal law, trained in the reverent knowledge and performance of the duties to God, trained to make the great truths of spirituality, not mere matters of belief but the very inspiration and atmosphere of their daily living."

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Having set down in writing his ideal he would recall he had said nothing as to the knowledge to be acquired and he would put it thus:

"They should first be put in harmony with their immediate environment and given such knowledge as they could grasp, understand, assimilate and use, moving from this to progressively widening circles of information as their growing minds could feed on. They should have only such knowledge as they could digest and make truly their own. They should be trained specifically too in that knowledge that would enable them to know where to find out. Such a comprehensive plan of training as this would bring them in touch to a degree with all the sciences in the explanation of their environment, in the simple questions and details of every day life. If their minds be trained thoroughly in harmony with their seven lives there need be no fear that they will not have or be able to acquire for themselves all the knowledge they could desire or assimilate." With years of such training they could approach any subject or problem with trained minds.

Having completed his outline and found it satisfying, he would then be rudely wakened by suddenly remembering that he had been misled in believing the world had no system of education. Then there would flash before him the memory of what our elementary schools, our high schools, were doing for the young. Checking up the work of Education, item by item, point by point with his own idea, he would find that she *fails consistently and completely in every single element.*

Dismayed and discouraged he might view his own plan as but a beautiful theory, utopian, visionary, impracticable, impossible. Then would come the glad glow of a real illumination. Such an education as he had outlined was not visionary, not impossible for it had been given in practically every detail in the training of the citizens of Athens, in the Golden Age of Greece, 2400 years ago!

This wondrous city, with a population about that of

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Akron, Ohio, in the seventy years of the life of Socrates, produced more great men, more supreme geniuses than the whole world has ever produced in any other equal period of time. The quality and powers of the citizenry, the common people, have never been approached, much less equalled, at any other place or in any other time in the history of the world. They had bodies trained to health, beauty and grace, minds keen, alert, clear and rapid in thought, unhesitating in action. They were intellectually anxious, wide-awake to new impressions, prepared and ready to challenge for themselves any new idea before admitting it into the mind. They were so trained to love their native tongue that the common people could speak it with the ease, grace, voice and fine discrimination in the use of words of their greatest authors.

Their ear was so trained that it was far more sensitive than ours to pitch and modulation. The ability to appreciate without difficulty quarter-tones in music was common. They were trained for citizenship, for character, trained in the social refinements and graces, trained to love the good, the beautiful and the true and have them dominate their lives. Their imagination, wonderously developed, was ever controlled by reason. Their spirituality was not a thing apart; it permeated all their living. They lead free, natural, joyous, active lives, from childhood to old age. No child in old Athens ever "crept unwillingly to school."

The education for their many-sided life was one of harmonious training of body, mind, heart and spirit, raising each to its highest power and all into finest co-operation. The curriculum of this education was so simple that we would smile at it today, but its wisdom was shown in its power to appeal to every faculty and process of the mind and to prepare for the fullest, freest living. This, too, was at a time when there was not a single book in existence, and before formal studies had been invented.

With the coming in of the Sophists, who shifted the accent from training to the acquiring of knowledge, the curriculum

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was soon widened to some semblance of modern education. The beginning of the great change was quickly felt, the people lost their fine character, their ideals faded, the common interests and purposes languished, their moral fibre weakened, their love of the beautiful, the good and the true no longer dominated their living, freedom waned, the great men became fewer and this glorious civilization slowly dimmed and dusked into night.

When the system of education in Athens made training the individual for the full rounded activities of his seven lives its supreme aim and purpose, Athens reached her Golden Age, her zenith. She was the glory of the whole world of her time and she left to all the ages to come an undying heritage of influence and inspiration. When she changed her model by reversing her ideals, making the acquiring of knowledge her supreme aim and purpose and the training of the mind incidental and secondary, the glory of her civilization declined. The new model for education that we are seeking to present in this series, though worked out individually and independently, with no thought of Athens as a guide or inspiration, is in perfect harmony with the spirit of her training in the sun-lit mid-day of her greatest splendor and power. The education of today is in harmony with that of Athens in her period of decline. Which is the better model, Mental Training or Education?

Let those who doubt the possibility of realizing the vision of the new education we have outlined, who may say "it cannot be done" be silenced by the proof that, in its main lines it *has* been done. Their civilization differed from ours, their spirituality differed, their ideas and ideals and their living differed, but the *principles* that made their civilization great will make ours great. We do not need to do what they did in the way they did it but to cultivate the same spirit, the same attitude. We do not need to drink from their cup, but to dip our own cup into the fresh, living waters of the same fountain of inspiration.

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We do not need to teach the Greek language, but to put into our own wondrous English language the love and spirit the Athenians put into their native tongue. We can have an education and a civilization all our own, a training that will prepare our children for living today, on the same broad base as did the Greeks of old. They never formulated the sevenfold view of life, perhaps even never thought of it, but we can convert this ideal into an actuality in the same free, inspired way that the ancient Greeks created an education in accord with their vision. We can make it a new great reality, transformed from a vision into a great pulsing force in our living.

Mental training has a clearly defined program—training for seven lives. It has a clearly defined model—training in harmony with Nature's method in developing genius. This new ideal and revelation of method and process will be set forth in the next article in this series: "Modeling Education on Genius." It is based on a supreme faith in the educability of the human mind. It believes that the method by which Nature makes her great successes is not only good enough for us, that it is not only a right and a proper method, but that this method of Nature is the only true one. Education, paradoxic and strange as it may seem, does not believe in the educability of the human mind. If she did she would not find her supreme aim and go in merely "storing the mind with knowledge."

Man is not put into the world as a finished product, of a predetermined limitation of capacity and development. He is not branded or stamped like a jug with its limit, as "one-gallon" or "five-gallon." There are no men thus predetermined as "one-talent" men or "two-talent" or "five-talent." If man wishes to thus limit himself it is he who does it, not Nature. We know the potentialities of no child that was ever born. We arrogate much to our own ignoraphies of the world's great ones have told this story thourance when we thus seek to fix individual limits. The biogsands of times. Nature has been speaking to man the same

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message in countless instances through the ages, but he has not heard, or if he has heard he has not comprehended. It is this finer message of Nature that mental training seeks to translate for man into a new revelation of the glorious possibilities of a new education, a new inspiration, a new model.

The question of how we can change our present system is too big to discuss here. The immediate question is not "how can it be done?" but "is it worth doing?"

Would it be good for the individual and for the world if it could be done? Is it the kind of education you would wish your children to have? Is it the kind of education you would want for yourself, if you could go back to school? Would it not have trained you in powers wherein you are weak today and which you have resignedly accepted in the belief that you "were born so and must so remain?" Would it not give you a broad, full, many-sided life that you do not have today? Would it not give you control of your mind and its powers? Could you imagine the world, after a generation of such training, going back to the old education, with its dullness and deadness, its cramming, its barren results, its fruitless effort and its untrained minds? Would it be a big worth-while thing to train the individual to live his seven lives at their fullest and best?

This new system is not proposed as an addition to our present one, but as a substitute for it. It would not only quicken the mind but would *build the brain itself* to higher powers, increasing the number of cells in any area and create them where none exist. Our leading scientists declare all this possible by proper exercises in training.

Elmer Gates, of Chevy Chase, Maryland, trained dogs during the first year of their life to discriminate hundreds of the pitches or wave-lengths of each of the colors of the spectrum, to differentiate seven or eight shades of these colors and of each one of the hues of these colors. In this training the dogs developed a mental power and ability along this line that no other dogs of this breed ever possessed. That this training actually produced increased cell-

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development in the cortex of the brain was shown by a subsequent autopsy. This revealed a far greater number of *well-developed* cells, as compared with small and immature cells, in the "seeing areas" of the brain, than other dogs of this species possessed.

A child under two years of age had been given by Dr. Gates a six months' training in the discrimination of temperature and touch differences. The child later died of scarlet fever and in the brain areas of these senses were found over twenty-four times the number of large and fully-developed cells, as compared with small, immature and mere beginnings of cells. He further says: "I have trained four generations of guinea-pigs in the extraordinary use of the visual faculty and their offspring of the fifth generation were born with a greater number of well-developed cells in the seeing areas of the cortex than other guinea-pigs not thus trained."

These experiments prove that more and better brains, and more and more mental ability can by proper mental training be given to animals, that new characteristics can be acquired, and that despite what Weissman and other scientists have claimed *these acquired characteristics can be inherited.* The fact that inheritance of these newly acquired structures implies that either new cells have actually been created or that new organic tissue has been created within the constitution of already-existing cells.

True mental training, making all the cells of the brain more keenly active and alert because directly nourished and strengthened by *conscious* exercise, will perform seeming miracles in the development of individuals. The brain cells become larger because they have been stimulated to more complex internal structures and a more complex chemical constitution. The cells become larger also because of a more complex development of associative fibres and fibre tracts. This means that in mental training there is not only a building up of separate memory cells but an intensifying, vivifying, vitalizing and energizing of new lines of associa-

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tion between them. Mental training is thus brain-building. It means producing a better machine to turn out a finer grade of goods, and by making a finer grade of goods still further perfect the machine.

We do not inherit from the education of today. In some new method which consciously and consistently builds up the brain itself, changes its tissues and increases the number of cells, by direct exercise, may we not possibly be able not merely to increase the brain power of one generation but to pass this power directly to the generation that is to come? Whatever we may or may not do for posterity, there is no question about the marvels of development we can create in the present generation by proper training and exercise.

EDITOR'S NOTE—This is the second of a series of four important articles on education by Mr. Jordan.

AT CANDLE-LIGHT

By JUDITH TRACTMAN

Without, is a wild dark night,
  Weeping white tears, weeping slow.
Come to me at candle-light,
  Swinging in a slim rainbow.

Ice blue flowers in your hair
  Flowing sorrowfully black;
Bubbles blown of silver air
  Strike melody, wafting back.

My wooden walls will quiver
  Thinning to a crystal green
Shadows will whisper, waver
  To echo beauties unseen.

Now Silence tip-toes, white and rare
  On such an onyx-lacquered night.
My fingers shall dip in your hair.
  Oh, come to me at candle-light.

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M. COUE AND THE CHURCH

By DEWITT L. PELTON, D. D.

I.

COUE'S favorite phrase is a fascinating one and has seized the imagination of the American people: "Every day in every way I am getting better and better." He lays emphasis on, "In every way." In a sense he is bringing back to us again "The Pollyanna World" which attracted us so much a few years ago—that everything will be all right with the meanest and most selfish people if we only act right toward them—which after all is true Christianity in the spirit of the Golden Rule —only it does not always bring in a Pollyanna world of joy and happiness: it sometimes gives the unscrupulous an opportunity to give free rein to their unscrupulousness; it sometimes, as in the notable instance of Calvary, brings martyrdom instead of joy.

If Coueism were universally applicable and uniformly successful, sickness and disease would disappear and an astonishing vigor of personality would result. Thus we would be enabled to speed up the world's machinery of business still more, and spin the social whirl of pleasure more madly, but of course the millenium would not arrive under such circumstances any more than it has now arrived.

But Coueism is not uniformly successful any more than the Pollyanna world is a certain consequence of good intentions. Nevertheless Coueism is to be commended for as Dr. Henry Fairfield Osborne, President of the Museum of Natural History, well says: "American high speed life needs the calming effects of Coueism."

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II.

M. Coue in his own personality has pleased us all. He is a simple, genial, French pharmacist past 60 years of age, not a physician or a philosopher, nor well versed in medicine or psychology—nor well read even in the matter in which he dabbles, but with considerable skill in hypnotism, which he studied before he took up his present method, and considerable skill in autosuggestion which is his present method of healing. This is combined with an amazing confidence in his power to heal almost anything, though he is sane enough to admit some limitations (broken limbs, cancer, and the like). His confidence in himself is not altogether justified by results, but there are enough results to encourage his confidence.

His theories are based on the modern doctrine of two or more selves in our personality—a conscious self of which we are aware and on which Law, Society, Education is based, and an unconscious self of which we are not fully aware except as it takes control at times and dominates us—or is seen in abnormal, unbalanced and disturbed personalities.

M. Coue asserts that the unconscious self is the stronger of the two and that in conflict the unconscious controls. In this he is probably right, for the power of the unconscious self is not usually discerned by us. The unconscious self in relation to the conscious self is comparable to an iceberg drifting in midocean; one-eighth exposed to view above the level of the waves—while seven-eighths is unseen below. This is the usual understanding of the relation of the two.

Generally speaking we consider a strong personality as one who habitually or usually dominates sternly the unconscious self by the conscious—controls by intelligence and will. Even then the unconscious rules him more than he thinks. Here we enter into the realm of complexes and suppressed desires.

Weaker personalities are ruled more generally by the unconscious, by the appetites and passions. Much of the un-

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happiness and misery of life is caused by this wavering of personality.

To the Christian thinker one of the benefits of Christianity in our personality is the harmony and peace of being that ensues from a concord of personality. Instead of all the instruments of the orchestra playing as they like, there is concord and harmony—one tune—as when the conductor lifts his baton.

III.

M. Coue's method of healing—that of cults and most physicians for that matter—is to evoke the power of the unconscious and range it by the side of the conscious self in producing the result desired. "The unconscious" M. Coue loosely calls the "imagination." The physician does the same by his "suggestions," for except in surgery, or in distortions, or obstructions of bodily structure, which his trained eye observes, or in the use of serums, the physician relies too on the "healing power of nature," for nature left to herself tries desperately to heal.

The unconscious is linked up to the conscious by M. Coue by hypnotism in a mild form sometimes, but chiefly by "autosuggestions"—"suggestions" we make to the unconscious—"the imagination." "Every day in every way I am growing better and better"—repeating it over and over, in chant like form, dinning it into the unconscious, especially at favorable times—when we are completely relaxed, just before sleeping and before really awake, when we are almost into or just emerging from the unconscious state, putting away doubt, and encouraging belief. In such manner the "unconscious," "the imagination," with all its power ranges itself like another and ten times more powerful engine hitched to a train, and so pulls the individual out of the mood of illness, or unfavorable mental state, he is in, and as the mind is ruler of the body not the body the mind, influences physical conditions as well.

"Day by day in every way I am getting better." The

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method is sound though not so universally successful as M. Coue confidently asserts and believes. The multitude of persons who flock to M. Coue and the other healing cults listed in the daily press, which Rev. Dr. Joseph Fort Newton wittily calls "Bootleg Religions" shows the vast number of unhappy, miserable neurotic, not fully co-ordinated persons—in the churches and everywhere—which neither the church or the medical profession has been able to help and in a sense is a reproach to both. They ought to be helped and can be helped both by the Church and by physicians and consequently must be helped.

The Church has been too timid—has not claimed her prerogative as with all boldness she should. The medical profession too has failed, and should be organized on broader lines like the Health Department and Sanitary Commissions of the city—to deal with mental ailments and uneasiness which are one of the by products of civilization —"The Costs of Progress." People must not be left in unhappiness and misery. They must not be left to more or less informed individuals to help them, M. Coue, Mr. Hickson, Christian Science healers, or the like. The faith of the Church, the Power of the God, the organized intelligence of the world in medical science must unite to help.

It will not do to stand off and merely observe or sneer. People are really being helped—by patent medicine nostrums, healing Quacks, Coue clinics. Competent medical observers, of course, are entitled justly to say: "not as much as they think." You attend a Wednesday night Christian Science "testimonial meeting" and listen to the various individual recitals of cures and you say "Wonderful!" Yes, perhaps! But medical science says that *self* diagnosis of disease or cure, by experience, is nine-tenths wrong.

Doesn't that throw a great light on the subject? When we "guess" something definite is the matter with us, we are apt to be wrong nine times out of ten; when we "guess" or think we are cured, we are again nine times out of ten wrong. Physicians with all their skill in diagnosis for which they

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are trained—which is their business, guess wrongly too—as they know very often. They request consultations, but they try with all their skill to guess right!

IV.

M. Coue does not appeal to religion in his cures. He appeals simply to the powers of the individual, resident in the personality. His cures are a tremendous testimony to the unrealized powers in human nature. He does say that religion is a very powerful force and that when it is added the pull toward cure is immensely increased.

Here then is the opportunity of the Church. The Church believes supremely in the power of God, that He is the source of all Power in the World. Christian history is filled with innumerable instances of the Power of God in human lives—from the time St. Paul was turned back in his wild rage of persecution on the Syrian Desert on the way to Damascus and made the Church's most fervent apostle, to the latest convert in the Bowery Mission in our city's slums, won from sin by the power of God. The power of God can break the strongest fetters of drink and lust and sin, can sooth the pangs of grief, and can conquer pain, the fear of death and Hell, yes, can reach down too and overcome disease!

We need then a New Psychology of Human Nature as well as in a sense a New Theology, a new Technic in healing the old time problems of the world, a new and courageous method on the part of the Church, or at least a wise adaptation of the old. We should not dwell as our fathers did so much upon the fact of sin, certainly not the assertion as the Old Divines of the Puritan theology did on human depravity—putting it too in the Book of Common Prayer, "There is no health in us"—why not revise that out—but a turning to the light, to the Truth, to the power of God to heal and save.

Perhaps in the Chants and Litanies of the Church—"Lord, have mercy upon us," "Lord, help us," "We beseech

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thee to hear us, O Lord," we are unconsciously using a wisdom older and just as effectual as "the Coue Rosaries." The priests of Baal, the dervishes of Islam, the voodoo incantations of the black race, are age-old applications of the same method.

We have known that the services of the Church have been helpful and inspiring: perhaps now we know why—through its powerful up lift, yes "suggestions" by the Holy Spirit to our souls—through our "unconscious self." That this may be more effective we should put ourselves in a more receptive mood—in prayers, in silence, with expectation await God's power to help. If all this were better understood there would be a flocking to God's altars; the Church Service, the waiting before Him, not monotonous, or a bore, or a task, but a privilege, a joy, a blessing. Such an attitude of waiting before God for blessings not received as yet, greater than we have been in the habit of expecting is the right attitude of the soul in worship, in the Presence of God.

V.

Yes, in the face of all these healing cults and their successes, Churchmen should claim boldly the Church's Power in healing also, her ancient prerogative, characteristic of our Lord's ministry and the apostles and continuing down the ages, till supinely bartered away to the Doctors' and the healing cults—not superseding or scorning medical intelligence, the best thought of the world for diseased humanity, though the doctors don't know it at all, as they are apt to claim sometimes—but supplementing medical science by the Power of God in direct answer to Prayer. For what Tennyson boldly said is still true:

"More things are wrought by Prayer
Than this world dreams of:
For so the whole round world is in every way
Bound by gold chains about the feet of God!"

Coueism is then more right than wrong and opens up a fertile field for development and practice both to medical science and the Church.

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THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE WOMAN CRIMINAL

By GILBERT FRANKAU

THAT terrible tragedy, the Ilford murder, may conceivably serve one good purpose if it calls the attention of our educationalists to the essential difference between the male and the female of the class which, for want of a better word, we describe as criminal.

I write "educationalists" of set purpose; because, as every thinker must admit, the repression of particular crimes by punishment, whether capital or otherwise, is at best only a deterrent to other potential criminals—the real problem being not how to punish our criminals, but how to prevent the various tendencies which lead them into crime. And for this purpose it is, I feel, supremely necessary that we should understand how and under what circumstances these tendencies are most easily fostered.

In considering the criminal tendency as it affects women, we cannot, or at least so it seems to me, eliminate the axiomatic principle that woman, until the last fifty years of the world's development, has been a caged animal, economically a slave and legally a chattel.

Now you cannot cage and enslave generation after generation of would-be free creatures without producing certain marked characteristics in their psychology. You cannot, for instance, rule, as men have hitherto tried to rule women, by fear, without engendering furtiveness, dishonesty and that general tendency to unlawful retaliation which is the impulse underlying every criminal act.

That is the reason why I wish that our educationalists, and more especially those among them who have charge of female education, would consider it their first charge to

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eradicate the old man-engendered furtivenesses, dishonesties and tendencies to unlawful retaliation from the mind of present-day girlhood. And I wish, also, that they would realize how utterly important is character, how utterly unimportant are those intellectual gymnastics, literature, the Arts, arithmetic and music, to which so many weary schoolroom-hours are still devoted.

For what, after all, is the use of a woman's education that does not teach her, as a first principle, that her entire status has changed, that she is no longer a slave or a chattel but a free, self-reliant citizen, and, as such, bound to obey the laws which she herself, by right of her vote in the councils of the nation, can now both make and help to administer!

Once inculcate this principle into the budding generation of womanhood and we shall, I think, have gone a long way towards the curing of the criminal tendency in womanhood. For the present, however, and for some fifty years to come, we have to deal with the residuum of a mixed generation, with those women who, being neither of the new age nor the old, are a prey to the tendencies of both. These women, as I see them—and that unfortunate woman, Mrs. Thompson, is, perhaps, the most typical case one can imagine—are half caged and half free, half tamed and half wild. They want, if any may dare use so homely a simile about so painful a subject, both to eat their cake and to have it; both the protection which man, though he ruled her by fear, did afford to the woman in the cage, and the freedom of the cageless. They demand, at one and the same time, liberty from man's law and equality with it.

It is always dangerous to deal in generalities, and more particularly generalities about women. I do feel, however, that I am on sure ground when I repeat that, in any general consideration of female criminals, both our jurists, our educationalists and our sociologists will themselves be committing a crime if they attempt, at least during the next fifty years, to regard the tendency to crime in woman from the same angle as they regard the tendency to crime in man.

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Woman, it must always be remembered, is as yet only half-educated in the principles of law. She is supremely an individualist—basing her acts not on any set code of right or wrong but on her own specific judgment of each individual case. She has, to put it plainly, as yet hardly any public conscience.

Take, for instance, the commonest crime committed by women—the crime of shoplifting. This is a crime against property—a crime, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, not committed as a man commits burglary, for the purpose of making (however dishonestly), a livelihood, but for sheer covetousness, for the sheer furtive desire to possess some gew-gaw or trinket. Do you think that a woman who commits this particular form of crime ever considers she is acting unlawfully? I don't. I believe that in the average case the woman shoplifter subconsciously justified herself with some such phrase as this: "They've got so many things in this shop, they'll never miss the one little thing I want. It means practically nothing to them, but it means a tremendous lot to me."

There you have the whole psychology of the woman criminal. Caged for a thousand years, she cannot see the point of view of the people outside the cage. She cannot see the general property view. She can only see her own individual want.

And whether the crime is shoplifting or murder, that individual want dominates her, drives her to that pitch of madness where even the commonest concepts of right and wrong blur to an indeterminate haze through which the woman criminal sees only her own desires.

Many people say, of course, that this theory of the individual desire driving the individual to madness is common both to male and to female criminals, that every crime is a form of insanity, a blind and reckless act perpetrated without thought of its legal consequences. I do not see, myself, at least insofar as men criminals are concerned, that there can be any justification for this theory. In ninety-nine cases

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out of every hundred, your male criminal, whether thief, forger, embezzler or murderer, has more or less prepared himself for the consequences of his act. Your man criminal has, however perverted, some form of public conscience. Because for generations he and his forebears have possessed citizen-rights under the law, he knows both consciously and subconsciously that if he infringes the law he will suffer, that if he steals he will go to prison, that if he commits murder he will hang. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, therefore, neither the verdict of "Guilty," nor the subsequent sentence comes as a surprise to the convicted criminal of the male sex. Subconsciously always, consciously for the most part, your convicted male felon approves the system which has convicted him.

Not so your convicted female criminal. To her, in ninety-nine cases out of every hundred, both the jury who find her guilty and the judge who sentences her appear as maniacs. She cannot understand how they can have found *her* guilty, how they can be sentencing *her,* how they can have failed to understand that her motives, whatever their result, were, as she sees them in her own perverted mind, perfectly justifiable.

For your woman criminal, from the very first moment when her impulses commence to drive her towards crime, moves, lives, has her very being in a world of reversed values—a world of her own—a world wherein she herself is the one individual judge of right and wrong. And, of course, in her own judgment, your woman criminal is always right. That is what makes her so dangerous, so fearless, so reckless. She does not dread the consequences of her own wrong-doing because to her it is no longer wrong-doing. It is the right thing—the justified thing—"the only thing to be done." She is in fact, if not in law, mad.

But the madness of the woman criminals is not, as I see it, a madness over which one ought to sentimentalize, because the more one sentimentalizes over madness, the more one stimulates it in those who are already approaching its

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border-line. To punish women criminals more lightly than men criminals is, I think, merely to encourage other women to crime. Woman is no longer a caged animal. She is, with some very few exceptions, legally free, a citizen as man is a citizen, possessing equal rights and equal remedies under the law. Therefore she must learn to utilize those rights, those remedies, and not to take the law into her own hands. She must learn that she cannot, once more, to use that homely simile, eat her cake and have it; that the law is her protection as much as it is man's; and that if she infringes it, she, like man, must pay the penalty.

This, I know, sounds a harsh doctrine, but, like so many harsh doctrines, it is, in the long run, the kindest to the race. Lawless mothers breed lawless sons, and lawless sons, anarchy. By all means let our justice be tempered, as it is tempered more and more every day, by the doctrine of true mercy, but do not let us be led astray, more especially where our women criminals are concerned, by doctrines of false mercy, or abolish those penalties which must for some time to come be the ultimate safeguards of our civilization. Rather let us strive to abolish, not punishment, but the necessity for punishment, not our prisons, but those tendencies which fill our prisons, those tendencies which, fostered in woman by a thousand years of chattel-hood, will, we hope, be eradicated by another fifty years of freedom.

RESPONSIBILITY

By LEONORA SPEYER

Let not my death be long;
And light
As a bird's swinging:
Happy decision in the midst of song
And . . . flight
From off the bough.
But let my wing be strong,
And my last note the first
Of another's singing.
See to it, Thou!

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CENSORSHIP OF THE MOVIES

By JOSEPH LEVENSON

MOTION pictures are visited daily by 10,000,000 people in the United States and 1,250,000 in the State of New York. These are the figures quoted by authorities in the industry and explain the widespread interest in the "movies" as a part of American daily life. This industry with $1,250,000,000 invested is now regarded as the fifth largest in the country. Its phenomonal growth has taken place within the past ten years, beginning with the introduction of the five-reel picture. Because of technical improvements made in various departments of the business, the "movies" appeal to all classes and all ages and their very novelty contributes largely to their rapid and wonderful success. It has become apparent to students of psychology and to thoughtful men and women of affairs that this remarkable form of entertainment carries with it a grave menace to the welfare of many of its patrons as well as to the interests of the state.

Within a short period after the introduction of the five-reeler, movements organized by leading men and women of various communities succeeded in bringing about some official examination of pictures before their presentation to the public. Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kansas and Maryland followed many municipalities in enacting legislation providing for legal regulation of the "movies." Notwithstanding bitter opposition on the part of the industry, an opposition that did not hesitate to spend vast sums of money to combat this regulatory movement, large numbers of additional communities throughout the country provided for supervision, and in 1921 New York State, the most important centre of the industry for motion picture exhibition purposes, after several years of agitation enacted regulatory legislation, and

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in 1922 Virginia and Florida followed suit.

An amusing sidelight of the movement for this legislation is the use of the term "censorship" by the motion picture industry, as well as by the newspapers. This word has been deliberately chosen by the opponents of this legislation for the purpose of making it unpopular with Americans, particularly with those of foreign birth, to whom the term "censorship" brings back pictures of gendarmes, soldiers and police, prying into their personal affairs. The fact is the legislation in most cases is regulatory and this is particularly true of New York where the standards are established by law and not by the Station Motion Picture Commission. Members of the Commission do nothing else but guide themselves by the statute when reviewing pictures.

Notwithstanding bitter legal attacks carried on by the industry with the help of some of America's leading lawyers, testing the constitutionality of the regulatory laws, the courts have sustained practically all legislation, some of the contests being carried to the Supreme Court of the United States. A few months ago an effort was made to test the constitutionality of the New York law permitting the examination of news reels, the industry maintaining that such news reels were a form of publication and that the constitutional guarantee of free press permitted exhibition of such news reels without examination by the state. The question was argued before the Appellate Division of the Third Department of the State of New York, and Judge Harold J. Hinman in an opinion unanimously concurred in by his four colleagues, held that the motion picture

> "is a spectacle or show rather than a medium of opinion and the latter quality is a mere incident to the former quality. It creates and purveys a mental atmosphere which is absorbed by the viewer without conscious mental effort. It requires neither literacy nor interpreter to understand it. Those who witness the spectacle are taken out of bondage to the letter and the spoken word. The author and the speaker are re-

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> placed by the actor of the show and of the spectacle. * * * Our public libraries are filled with books which without the necessary literacy stand uninterpreted and equally dead in the field of thought as an organ of opinion. The newspaper offers no particular attraction to the child and much that is contained in it that might be harmful to the child is not understood by it for lack of literacy or imagination. But the moving picture attracts the attention so lacking with books or even newspapers, particularly so far as children and the illiterate are concerned, and carries its own interpretation."

With this opinion borne in mind, it can be easily understood that the motion picture unlike the spoken play, the printed book or newspaper, requires state supervision and control.

To appreciate the need of "movie" legislation, it is important to bear in mind the classes that make up the great majority of the attendants at motion picture theatres. A study of these classes discloses that the "movies" attract in large numbers those who lack the means of deriving pleasure from a good play or good reading matter and who are unable to concentrate their minds for any length of time on matters requiring much thought. This accounts for the popularity of the picture with children who form a very important and numerically large part of the audiences of most motion picture theatres.

Professor Samuel B. Heckman, a distinguished psychologist of the faculty of the College of the City of New York, has this to say as to the influence of the picture on the mind of the child:

> "One of the characteristics which mark the difference between children and adults is in their reaction; is that the imagination is less modified, is less controlled in relation to realities. That is, the experiences of children are frequently enlarged or magnified sometimes out of proportion to the thing that really happened. * * *

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"Another characteristic difference is that lack of control. Another, and probably the most important of the differences between childhood and grown-up life, is that inability, particularly as it refers to the screen picture, to see a story through to the end. The child is impressed by the single picture, the single scene and the activities that it portrays and fails, nearly always, to evaluate those pictures and those scenes to the story as a whole. That is an influence which bears upon their lives.

"A film story which may contain some picture of lawlessness or a murder, may be accepted by the intelligent adult as a justifiable moral picture, because in the end justice prevails, and the criminal, if he is one, is punished. But what impressed the child during that picture was the bravado, the kind of activity which the individual engaged in while performing that particular act, and that is what influences his life; he doesn't carry it through to the end to get the justification of the act in its whole setting."

According to the census of 1920, the number of children in the United States ranging in age from 5 to 14 years inclusive, was 22,039,000 and the number ranging in age from 15 to 20 years inclusive, was 11,212,000, a total of 33,251,000. The figures for New York State show that the number ranging in age from 5 to 20 years was 3,126,000. Practically all of these children go to the "movies," some with parental consent and others without, and the influence of the picture on the minds of these children is the answer to the opponents of legal supervision of pictures.

In addition to children, the audiences at motion picture theatres consist of large numbers of illiterates who cannot read or write a syllable of any language, the ignorant who can barely read and write and the mental defectives of all degrees, who, according to scientific opinion, constitute fully ten per cent of the population of the country.

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While a great deal has been written about the value of the mental tests applied by the government during the late world war, there can be no doubt that such tests have established beyond question that America has an enormous proportion of unintelligent adults. Professor Henry Herbert Goddard, in his book, "Human Efficiency and Levels of Intelligence" states that a study of these government tests shows that about forty-five per cent of the 1,700,000 soldiers to whom the tests were applied, were below normal intelligence. Even if these figures are inaccurate and the tests unsatisfactory, we cannot get away from the fact that our sub-normal population is so large that with possession of the suffrage, they constitute a grave menace to our country.

An interesting indication of the number of unintelligent and disinterested electors is clear from a study of the figures of the vote cast on several amendments submitted to the people of the State of New York in 1921 and in 1922. In the former year on an amendment submitted in accordance with constitutional provision, asking for authority to sell old Erie Canal lands and which had no negative, there were 553,000 people who voted "No" while 1,124,000 electors voted blank, indicating that they did not understand or were not interested, the affirmative receiving only 781,000 votes. The total vote cast for Judge of the Court of Appeals at the same election was 2,634,000. This was again illustrated in 1922 when there was a total vote cast in New York for Governor of 2,589,000 while on an amendment to the Constitution, which simply provided for some technical change in the method of returning city bills to the legislature and which also had no negative, there were 555,000 people who voted "No," almost 1,000,000 voted blank and 220,000 who voted for Governor, failed to vote at all, with the affirmative receiving 820,000 votes. These figures show what a small proportion voted with any intelligent knowledge of the question submitted to them.

Our system of government depends on an intelligent electorate. If we are to permit the illiterate and unintelligent

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to become the majority and sway our elections, our form of government is doomed. It was fear of this that brought about the establishment of our public school system upon which billions have been spent. Nowhere is a teacher permitted to have charge of the mental and moral welfare of children unless such teacher qualifies by passing rigorous tests. The motion picture is conceded to be far more influential as an educational factor than is the teacher, yet it is contended that this great force for education should be permitted to do its work without any supervision provided by law.

The movement for control of the "movies" which has developed within the past few years has spread over the world. England, India, Australia, Czecho-Slovakia, Sweden, Italy, Honduras, the Philippine Islands, Germany, Poland, the provinces of Canada and the cities of Japan have instituted various forms of regulatory legislation or "censorship" as the motion picture industry would term it. Nowhere has such legislation been repealed, once enacted.

It is because statesmen, psychologists and teachers are realizing the indescribable power of the motion picture in molding thought, particularly with the classes already referred to, that motion picture regulation is now regarded as an absolutely necessary part of the government of civilized countries.

The opponents of this legislation have bitterly attacked all forms of regulation. One of the unfortunate features of their opposition in this country is their determination to use the power of the screen as a political factor. They have not hesitated to threaten punishment to all who may oppose them, while promising aid to those regarded as their friends. To strengthen themselves, they have recently engaged the services of a distinguished gentleman who retired from the President's Cabinet, paying him an enormous salary, so that he may help counteract the strong demand for regulatory legislation. Until his employment, the spokesmen against so-called censorship came from the industry but now, in

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order to hide the opposition behind a cloak of respectability, prominent ministers, newspaper men and members of authors' guilds are frequently employed to use their powers of persuasion to defeat all forms of legal supervision.

In the recent referendum in Massachusetts on the question of censorship, large amounts of money were spent by the industry under the leadership of its new national director, to influence the electorate to vote against the proposed regulatory legislation. The industry boasts of the very large vote cast against censorship at that referendum but fails to mention the vast organization it effected and the large amount of money spent by it. The fact is that the advocates of censorship had no money, no newspaper support and were unorganized, and yet secured 210,000 votes, nearly 30 per cent of the total vote cast on the question.

A favorite argument advanced against regulation, particularly during the Massachusetts campaign, has been that a Board of three people is clothed with full power to decide what the people should see in the "movies." To those who know about our form of government, this argument seems ridiculous. We delegate all our powers to representatives authorized to do the work entrusted to them, subject to proper court review. In the matter of motion picture regulation, the right to appeal to the courts has not been taken away from the people interested. In New York the law provides that "unless a film or a part thereof is obscene, indecent, immoral, inhuman, sacrilegious, or is of such a character that its exhibition would tend to corrupt morals or incite to crime the Commission shall issue a license therefor." All advertising posters used for display purposes are also under the same provision of the law and New York now is spared the vile and disgusting forms of motion picture poster advertising which have graced the fronts of so many theatres of the residential sections. The three Commissioners are simply permitted to define and interpret the statute and their action is subject to a review by the courts.

It is interesting to note that in New York State out of 4,690 eliminations made and 79 pictures condemned in

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their entirety from August 1, 1921, to December 31, 1922, there have been but three appeals to the courts to date, and in every case the Commission has been unanimously sustained, such appeals being decided by the Appellate Division consisting of from five to seven Judges.

With much glee, the opponents of "censorship" point to what they term errors of judgment on the part of so-called "censors." Admitting that errors are made, what of it? No one has claimed infallibility for any human being serving as a public official and motion picture commissioners are no exception. Considering the millions of feet of film examined, it must be frankly admitted that examiners are apt at times to commit errors, but if in New York State but three appeals have been made to the courts, it seems to indicate that the industry has had but very little genuine ground for complaint.

An argument advanced whenever control has been suggested, and used with great effect during the Massachusetts campaign, is that "censorship" increases the cost of admission to the "movies." This is laughable to those bearing in mind the fabulous salaries paid to movie stars and the salary of $150,000 to a main director who is surrounded by a large staff of high-salaried assistants, occupying palatial Fifth Avenue offices.

The Motion Picture Commission of the State of New York for the year 1922 had a total income of $154,000. As the attendance at motion picture theatres averages at least 1,000,000 persons per day in the State of New York, or 365,000,000 per year, the cost of censorship per single admission, paid by the producers, amounted to less than one-twentieth of one cent. The State made a profit of $72,000 on the work of the Commission for the year 1922.

The ancient cry of interference with personal liberty is frequently used by the "movie" interests. Of course, motion picture regulation, like all other laws, interferes with somebody's personal liberty. The director and producer who prepare a picture showing obscenity and filth and whose work is eliminated, are justified in shouting about the loss

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of their personal liberty. So is every individual justified who has been brought before the bar of justice because of a violation of law.

In the Massachusetts campaign, the motion picture people cleverly stated that their opposition was to State censorship and not to Federal censorship, an argument which, no doubt, influenced quite a large proportion of the electorate. They knew very well that Federal censorship is something that may come in the dim and distant future. Even if enacted, it might have the same effect as did the federal legislation barring prize fight pictures which have been shown in various states notwithstanding the legislation, by the mere pleading of guilty and the payment of a nominal sum as a fine.

A distinguished Protestant clergyman of Brooklyn, a successor to one of America's most famous pulpit orators, in trying to prove how odious is "censorship" of the "movies" has referred to the censorship of Czaristic Russia. He evidently did not know that very recently the Republic of Poland, although under Socialist control, and but a few years free from centuries of despotism under the Czars, has enacted motion picture "censorship" and the reason advanced is that practically all the pictures shown in Poland are American made and are destructive of the moral standards of its people because of the indecent, sacrilegious and crime-inciting matter they contain. Reports recently received state that Soviet Russia has provided for motion picture censorship.

A distinguished authoress whose contributions to the leading American periodicals have attracted favorable attention and some of which have been screened, has been speaking in opposition to motion picture regulation. Yet, in the State of New York, it was necessary to eliminate from one of the recent picture successes, based on a story of hers, scenes of disgusting sexual degeneracy injected into the picture by a noted director as his conception of the debauchery and degradation of Ancient Rome. It is only fair to say that the scenes were born of the director's imagination and did not appear in the story.

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In New York, the chief value of the law has been that it has served in the main as a preventative. The directors and motion picture people have been unwilling to invest large sums of money in productions which they feared might meet with rejection.

Another valuable result of the law has been the constructive work done by the Commission. Very many pictures or scenes condemned aroused heart-breaking wailing from the interested parties because of the financial losses and "the throttling of genius and restriction of art." After the changes were made, the Commission learned that those interested frankly admitted that the pictures had a more salable value and were far better in an artistic way.

The New York Commission has been eliminating all obnoxious references to various religious and racial groups, a policy which has met with universal approval. Pictures have been presented particularly objectionable to religious groups. One case portraying a nun's violation of her holy vows, although not strictly sacrilegious, was changed by the owner at the suggestion of the Commission, a course which delighted Catholic church dignitaries. In some cases, complaints reached the Commission from the Anti-Defamation League, a subsidiary organization of a large Jewish fraternal order, about pictures that were particularly obnoxious to many Jews. It may interest some people to know that such Jewish pictures were made by Jewish motion picture concerns. Complaint too has been made about productions portraying Protestant ministers in an improper light. The Commission has interested itself to improve such pictures to meet objections.

Legal regulation of the screen may have its shortcomings but based on the experience of the last decade, it must be apparent to the unbiased that resort to the law to eliminate indecent theatrical performances has had unsatisfactory results. The experience in New York City during the past two seasons shows clearly that the legal technicalities involved, make it almost impossible to prevent salacious performances until long after the damage to the community

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has been accomplished. It is clear, too, that the contention of the motion picture interests that the law gives ample power to eliminate that which is immoral or obscene and that the public should be the "censors" is one based on an expectation that if the present motion picture law be repealed, they will be free of the only restrictions that can make them bow to the moral sentiment of the community.

The motion picture industry, aided by interests that are financially affected, stands practically alone in its opposition to motion picture regulation. No doubt there is some honest opposition on the part of well-meaning men and women who fear that so-called "censorship" is at variance with the American conception of freedom. Experience, however, is the best answer to such honest opposition. The same issues were involved in the agitation that went on for years in reference to the liquor question in America. Public opinion would never have accepted Prohibition if it had not been for the great army of saloon keepers, who, blind to American moral sentiment, deliberately violated laws, using their power for political purposes, and who did not hesitate on pay days to send their customers home to their families without a penny in their pockets. It was this wanton violation of all that was decent that resulted in prohibition and not the desire to make men stop drinking alcoholic beverages. The motion picture industry should learn a lesson from the experience of America with saloons. Should the men who control the screen succeed in thwarting the moral sentiment of the community, they will find themselves in opposition to millions of parents and others interested in the welfare of children and the development of a healthy, moral and religious sentiment in the state. If the producers can again have untrammeled power to show the vicious, the lewd and sacrilegious without restraint, they will find that instead of having been benefitted by the repeal of legislation, they will have paved the way for wholesale boycott of their productions by the best elements of every community.

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THE PRESIDENCY IN 1924?

(4) Republican—George Higgins Moses

By POLIS

The Time—About a week ago.
The Place—A Committee Room in the Capitol at Washington.
Dramatis Personae—The Senior Senator from New Hampshire, the Writer.

The Writer—Why don't you run for President?

The Senator—Have you looked at the map of the country lately?

The Writer—That's a Yankee trick to answer a question by asking another. I haven't lately looked at the map. What has that to do with it?

The Senator—The map shows New Hampshire to be a little State 'way up in the northeast corner of the Union. And the census gives us just four electoral votes. Have you ever been in Concord, N. H.?

The Writer—No, and I still don't see what—

The Senator—Well, in Concord, in the State House yard stands a statue of Franklin Pierce, fourteenth president of the United States. Looking upon it is a good deterrent of ambition for it recalls that the success attending the Administration of the only President New Hampshire ever produced was not such as to lead a political party to look in that direction, again for a leader, all of which is wide of the mark.

True, New Hampshire is a small state, but it has more square miles than Massachusetts. To Emerson is credited

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the statement that if a man can write a better book or make a better mousetrap, or do anything better than somebody else, the world will make a beaten path to his door, even though he lived in the depths of the trackless forest. So much for geography and acreage.

As for Franklin Pierce, if anyone thought that he and the Senior Senator from New Hampshire were in any respect alike, no one would think of the latter in connection with the Presidency.

So, why not?

It is curious to note that the diapason of depression which underlies all Republican forcasts for 1924. Party leaders generally, including Senators, Congressmen, National Committeemen, State Chairmen, and lesser fry, admit privately that President Harding cannot be reelected. Even Senator Watson, who is himself not without ambition, against whom neither Geography nor the record of prior Hoosier Presidents can be quoted, and whose loyalty to Harding is both ardent and excessive, hesitated to assure Senator Pat. Harrison, in a recent Senate debate, that he felt sure of Harding's reelection. He limited himself to predicting Harding's renomination. The consensus is that Harding's reelection is an irridescent dream and that Harding's renomination is by no means a certainty. Accordingly, there is talk of Hughes, of Johnson, of Wadsworth, of Watson, of La Follette, of Kenyon.

Why not of Moses?

One reason is the man's own indifference and humor and cynicism regarding it. He protests his immunity from illusion, declares that there are too many Presidential aspirants in Senate already, and falls back on Franklin Pierce, who had to wait sixty years and for a Democratic Legislature to achieve the status which now shoos the political bee away from New Hampshire bonnets.

However, why not?

The defects of the President are those of his qualities. He continues to look the part, and Wilson had nothing on him

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as a swell dresser. But there is a distressing persistence of belief that Penrose was right when he characterized Harding as a "stuffed shirt." He bulks large and handsomely to the eye. But he somehow fails to touch the imagination or to spur the action. His fatal gift of beauty is accompanied by the more lethal gift of indecision. Beneath his good nature there is a streak of stubbornness, which, once reached passes fairly current for courage and determination. But this vein is too far below the surface to be profitably worked—and Harding at the end of two years, stands forth as a man of indecision, and instability, lacking in judgment of men, and wholly without the power to enforce the leadership which both Congress and the country would gladly have a President display. He is about to make a tour of the country in the course of which he will make speeches intended to interpret his intentions and accomplishments and to draw back to him the seven million majority which has gone into hiding—Folk at Washington remember that Taft (also of Ohio) essayed this in 1910. And the same folk shudder when they recall Taft's Winona speech. The simple truth is that it will take more than oratory to rescue this Administration. If the Republican party is to win next year, it must have another candidate.

In which case why not Moses?

Let us turn now to the affirmative in the argument—Moses is fifty-four years old and has the appearance of a man several years younger. He has been soundly educated at the famous old Academy at Exeter and at that nursery of strong men, Dartmouth College. He was caught young in the game of politics and while yet a minor and while still in college was private secretary to the governor of New Hampshire at a time when that stormy state was passing through a tempestuous battle between William F. Chandler and Jacob H. Gallinger each of whom, as they successively secured domination, recognized his value and gave him their confidence. From these two men he had a political training which could hardly be equalled. At the same time he

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was going forward in his path as a journalist. For twenty years he was the owner and editor of the *Concord Monitor,* which was the old reliable Bible of New Hampshire Republicanism. His writing style was incisive, compact and scholarly. He made a paper which people had to read that they might know what he had to say about them. Along with this he took up public speaking and as a campaign orator, as an occasional speaker, and not neglecting the Lyceum which still flourishes in northern New England, it soon was found that he handled the spoken word and the written word with great skill.

Thus far, it will be seen Harding and Moses have traveled the same road. But with this difference: Behind Moses was a long line of New England ancestry, rooted on the same piece of ground since 1639, farmers, schoolmasters, preachers, as his father was, sailors and merchants. His was a life of plain living and high thinking; books and men, reflection, study, action, all were in it.

At forty he was sent as our Minister to Greece, at a period when the Balkans seethed with the ferment of the First Balkan War, and at a time most fortunate for him in that it brought him in contact with things and people in the Old World when he could gain the most from them. He is one of the few men, therefore, in our public life who know, in paraphrase of Mr. Dooley, that the Balkans are mountains and not canned goods and who have some knowledge at first hand of the statesmen who shape events beyond the sea.

Before he was fifty he entered the Senate, and he has been there five years. Few men have ever taken so high a place in that body in so short a time. A horse for work, he sits on the most laborious and powerful of its committees. Fearless and pungent in speech, he has become noted as a dashing calvaryman in debate. Experienced and sagacious in political management, he is a prominent figure in all party councils. He has become one of the Senate's best parliamentarians, and business proceeds briskly when he is in the chair. He claims to be a conservative, but his closest

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friend in the Chamber is Johnson and he manages to maintain the best of relationship with Farm Bloc, in spite of the frankness with which he describes them and their purposes. He boasts that any man with a two-cent stamp can have his opinions on any public question, and he generally makes them known without waiting to be interrogated. There is no lost motion in his mental processes. His aura is one of vigorous decisiveness, I have talked with men who have known him at Exeter, at Dartmouth, in New Hampshire, at Athens, and in the Senate. The one thing they all agree upon is that he insensibly but inevitably has established his qualities of leadership wherever he has been.

And heaven knows that, whether sensibly or insensibly, the quality of leadership should be re-established in the White House.

The Republican party is looking for a Moses?

Why not, let me ask again, George Higgins Moses of New Hampshire?

THE AMERICAN

By ALICE M. FAY

He will speak the language of Shakespeare
And his brow will be that of a conqueror,
But in his eyes will be a hint of Raphael's saints,
And the strains of Wagner, singing in his heart,
    will lift him to the stars,
The harp of Tara will sound in his ears forever
And the call of the clan.

Then will Himself take form—
His thoughts, his dreams, his inspiration—
What new rhythms will he start down the passage
    of the winds,
What untried harmonies?
What new colors will he splash upon the world canvas?
Some day, to the ends of the earth
He will carry his message.

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THE PRESIDENCY IN 1924?

(4) Democrat—Oscar W. Underwood

By DEMOS

SENATOR OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD, of Alabama, is entirely too fit for the Presidency to be the Democratic candidate in 1924, or for that matter in any year since Van Buren retired. Sometimes the Democrats have nominated a fit man, but they always had the excuse that they did not know how fit he was when they nominated him. The same thing, of course, applies to the Republicans and the defunct Whigs, only with more exceptions. Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, at the Republican convention of 1916, said, "I refuse to believe that excellence is a disqualification for office in a democracy." All the same he does believe it, and history teaches it. Sometimes a great President slips in because he is not known to be great, and has the laugh on the Democracy. This thing happened with Abraham Lincoln and Grover Cleveland, but the parties that nominated them were not to blame; they supposed Lincoln to be nothing but a slick politician from the backwoods and Cleveland to be a bull-necked ward-heeler from Buffalo with a neglected education except in the matter of beer and beef.

At present the Democratic Party, having all its brains in its vulnerable heels and finding its highest expression in Pat Harrison and Morris Sheppard, insomuch that John Sharpe Williams has retired from politics and says he never wants to hear the accursed word again, is further from nominating an Underwood than it was thirty years ago. It is not because he comes from the South. Outside of one or two counties in Ohio and Indiana, where they are still marching through the cut at Gettysburg and rallying around Thomas at Chickamauga, the war is over. With these slight exceptions nobody north of Mason and Dixon's line would think

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the country had gone to the dogs if a rebel brigadier were seated in the White House, and as for the South, it has been voting for Yankees ever since Appomattox. Besides, Underwood is not so much Southern as he is national. He is very proud of Alabama, but when it comes to legislation he figures coldly on the good of the whole people and doesn't let even Birmingham warp that consideration by half a warp. He doesn't even speak with a Southern accent. He was born in a half-Republican town in Kentucky, he spent his boyhood in Minnesota, his parents and grand-parents were Unionists during the war, and throughout his whole education and his whole public life he followed an injunction not then formulated, if you will excuse an Irish bull. I refer to Theodore Roosevelt's injunction, "Think nationally." The War of Secession had long been over before Underwood was old enough to do much thinking, anyhow, outside of matters relating to alley tors, jack stones and bean-bags.

Of course, the intelligent South vastly admires him, but in his nearly sixty-one years of life the intelligent part of the North has come to be very well acquainted with him, and to entertain the same feeling. It does not think of him as a Southern man any more than it thinks of Elihu Root as a Northern man. It only thinks of him as an American. Many of these Northerners are business men, but their admiration for Underwood is not based on any belief that they can put anything over on him or that he would stand for anything in the interest of business unless it was also in the interest of the general public. He never yielded a jot to any interest or influence, and this applies to radical influences as well as to reactionary influences. The wild men don't like him. Hobson doesn't in the South, and Amos Pinchot doesn't in the North. But to people who are tired of the yelp in politics he is a great rock in a weary land.

Although he is too large and cool and sound and sensible to meet the present-day standards of a Presidential candidate, especially a Democratic one, he actually was a candidate for the nomination in 1912. He did not, however,

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expect to be nominated, nor was that the real goal with him. He was much more anxious to have the gratification of seeing the State of Alabama loyally and solidly behind him as its chosen son. The pleasure which that sight gave to Underwood so outweighed everything else that he felt no smart when the nomination went to another. Yet Underwood is perfectly well acquainted with himself and knows that he could fill the Presidency to admiration. He is not vain about it, but I cannot recall any case in which he has ever made a mistake of judgment in public affairs, and it would be a ludicrous mistake of judgment if, after appraising himself in the same dispassionate and critical manner in which he judges everything and everybody else, he should come to the conclusion that the Presidency was too big for him.

At about that time a political writer who didn't know him very well called him "a Democratic McKinley." He is nothing of the sort, and the phrase must have been founded on externals. He is, it is true, courteous and conciliatory in manner. Neither does he ever seek a fight. But after these superficial resemblances are past, he is about as much like McKinley as he is like Sandford and Merton. I believe it was Thomas B. Reed who said McKinley had "a chocolate eclair backbone," though Roosevelt made some similar remark. Underwood's backbone is of iron. They haven't anything stiffer in those great factories in his town of Birmingham. Also, while he never hunts for battle, if someone insists on warfare Underwood does not leave the field as long as the other man is able to stand and see. McKinley could be convinced by reason, but he could also be convinced by demonstrating to him that if he persisted in his course he would hurt himself or his party, or even the dominant group in his party. Underwood has never yet been convinced by any such consideration. In looking back over his record, however, I cannot find that this position of his was ever due to obstinacy. It was due to the fact that he had thought it out broadly beforehand and the other fellows hadn't. In other words, he was right, and they were wrong; the thing, whatever it was, didn't hurt the party and in the

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long run didn't even hurt him, though for a time the raging denunciation which he had to undergo made people think that his political career was at an end. At such periods, when Underwood was the target for ferocious assaults from his own party and even his friends, he never turned a hair or fluttered a feather; he never lost his temper, he let the other fellows have a monopoly of insolence and violence, but he never budged one inch from his position, and in the end, though it sometimes took a long time, they came round, and now he counts them among his warmest supporters. There are of course exceptions here and there, such as William J. Bryan, who doubtless never will forgive Underwood. But in such a fight there is something about his inflexible courage that strikes a responsive nerve in anybody who is a regular man, even though the nerve isn't reached for a good while. He is too likable personally to excite many permanent hatreds, though he is too much of a man not to have a few. His outward demeanor is as gentle as McKinley's, but the rocky formation beneath it has the fixity of Andrew Jackson's.

Anybody who knew McKinley can see from this how little that well-meaning publicist of 1912 knew about Underwood.

While, as has been said, Underwood never goes around imploring a fight, there is something extraordinarily and weirdly tranquil about the way he stays in one. On his side the fight with Bryan has always had an air of mild cheerfulness, although on Bryan's it was always raspy and harsh. Bryan certainly got the worst of it. Epithets in hand, he dashed again and again against that mild but rock-bound coast, but he never effected a landing. He hasn't yet. He is a bigger man than Hobson, but the number of dents he inflicted on Underwood was precisely the same as the number inflicted by Hobson. A cipher would cover the whole bunch.

For example, when the first Democratic tariff since the Wilson-Gorman bill came to be enacted, Underwood was

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chairman of the Ways and Means Committee and the Woolen and Cotton Schedules were taken up first. Bryan, who throughout his public life has reversed Burns' maxim by seeing ithers as he sees himsel', charged Underwood with sidetracking the iron and steel schedules because he, Underwood, was financially interested in that business in Birmingham. It was pathetically characteristic of Bryan. Equally characteristic of Underwood were the facts. Underwood merely produced evidence that because of his interest in the iron and steel business he had requested the Ways and Means Committee to soak that business first of all. They outvoted him for a political reason, which was that on account of the uproar that had been raised over Schedule K (the wool schedule) in the last Republican tariff they figured it would be a popular move to uproot that schedule at the outset. Underwood's action was on principle and therefore characteristically Underwoodian; the refusal of his colleagues to let him have his way was partisan and therefore characteristically Democratic; and the mean suspicion that crept into Bryan's mind, together with his going off half-cocked without any evidence, was characteristically Bryanesque. As usual, it left Bryan scattered on both sides of the road and Underwood tranquilly erect with his customary air of having barely noticed that a mosquito had passed by.

Another instance of Underwood's fights came about in this same tariff discussion. Despite the fact that the Republicans are theoretically for protection to home industries and the Democrats theoretically in favor of a tariff for revenue only, when it comes down to the actual making of the tariff bill both these sacred principles give way to a third, which is called log-rolling. This is bi-partisan and is derived from our early settler days, when one settler would say to another, "You roll my logs and I'll roll yours." Thus the Louisiana Democrats, for instance, desiring a protective tariff on sugar, will log-roll with the Pennsylvania Republicans for a protective duty on steel, and each delegation will vote to protect the other's product. South Carolina was

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never averse to a protective duty on cotton, and if her Congressmen couldn't get it without voting for a protecting duty on the Republican product of lumber she never reproved them for doing so. Thus it comes that the making of a tariff resolves itself into a competition in log-rolling, no matter which party is making it. The Wilson-Gorman tariff law, the last Democratic tariff before the Underwood one, was a scandal in the noses of high-principled Democrats because it was so confoundedly protectionist. When the Democratic Senate got through with it there was no more flavor of a tariff for revenue only about it than there is a flavor of lavender about a hog-pen.

Now Birmingham, where Oscar W. Underwood lives, is a great steel center, and Underwood himself is or was to some extent interested in the industry of his district. Consequently the business men of Birmingham, knowing that he had charge of the new tariff bill, expected as a matter of course a high tariff duty on their products and raw materials. They notified Underwood in a formal telegraphic communication of exactly what he was to do. Underwood replied in a telegram of the same length, explaining politely but positively that he was a Democrat and a believer in a tariff for revenue only; that the Democratic platform had declared for such a tariff in many national conventions, and that the business men of Birmingham had failed to point out in their communication wherein their suggestions met with that demand or with his principles. He concluded by assuring them that the Underwood tariff would treat the iron and steel industry exactly the same as it treated wool or lumber or any other Republican product. The communication was framed with the usual Underwood cheerfulness and amiability, and with the usual rock-bound backbone. Birmingham gathered from it that the only way to get the kind of tariff it wanted was to get Underwood out of Congress.

And for a time that was just the remedy which Birmingham proposed to adopt. No storm that has ever raged

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around the head of Oscar Underwood was comparable to that one. He was a traitor to the South and especially to Birmingham, a traitor to the faithful supporters who had kept him in Congress and boosted him for President. This article has imperfectly delineated the character of Underwood if the reader imagines for a moment that all the tumult and the shouting budged him an inch or even shortened his agreeable smile. Birmingham cooled off and Underwood was re-elected to Congress. Subsequently the State of Alabama sent him to the United States Senate, where he became the official party leader. He conducted that leadership with dignity and power, and yet without arousing any sentiment but admiration on the part of his Republican adversaries. President Harding, indeed, appointed him Commissioner Plenipotentiary to the Washington Conference, along with Senator Lodge.

When Congress adjourned on March 4 Underwood quit the leadership, after due and proper notice. There was some talk of Senator Simmons to succeed him. It suddenly faded away and Senator Robinson got the job. Everybody was glad, but nobody knew how it had happened until some of the Washington correspondents blurted out that Underwood had done it. At the last moment he inserted his fine Italian hand, and as usual for the benefit of his party and his country. Mr. Robinson is no Underwood, but he grades so high above Simmons as to make the prospect of what is going to happen in the sixty-eighth Congress much more endurable than it had seemed in the nightmares of many apprehensive American citizens.

As a Presidential candidate the only trouble with Underwood is that he has been so long before the public as to become very well known. His supporters cannot possibly fool the delegates into believing that he is a lightweight or a dub. In ordinary circumstances this condition of affairs might be regarded almost fatal to his chances. Everybody knows that he is of full Presidential stature, and that is a frightful handicap.

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THE THEATRE IN MOSCOW

By CHARLES RECHT

THE art of acting, the technique of stagecraft and the school of dramaturgy—all of that business which has to do with the upholding of the mirror is undergoing a crisis of transition at the present time. It is, owing to the narrowing of the world of art, subject to the self-same laws that its six sister arts are liable to, and this is particularly true of the theatre of today which depends so much on the support of painting for full expression. Even before the advant of the cubists, futurists, dadaists and constructivists, already in the Ibsenian days, the internationalization trend of the theatre was very much in evidence. Brandes was echoed by Archer and by Huneker, and Mr. Belasco only put into execution the school of naturalism which Strindberg outlined in the admirable preface to "Countess Julia." It is a long cry since Hedda, and post-Victorianism need not in our days be shot off the stage—our adulteries end in a Wildesque or a Shavian epigram. The reaction against naturalism began ante bellum. We had our surfeit of Reinhardts and Belascos, and for novelty's sake we began to applaud Marinetti. In Moscow, where the theatre is an affair of the state and its tendencies are regarded to be on a level with international politics, or as one could appraise it in America, with baseball, the school of Stanislawsky and Danchenko had its Brutus in Meyerhold and Tairoff. In the States we would say that the revolt was against the stuffed shirt oratorical histrionicism, against the Childs' Restaurant stage detailisation. The cry of the youngsters was for symbolism and particularly for synthesis. Just as in Russia the new school of painting received the most earnest consideration, for the greatest

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collection of Matisse, Picasso, Van Gough, Gauguin, Cezanne, Degas and other modern painters is to be found in the Schukine Gallery in Moscow, so the school of acting and stagecraft received a more serious analysis in the city around the Kremlin than even in Germany or Italy where it is said to have originated. But like its more dignified predecessors this our little system is having its day. Some of its theatres are at the crossroads and after wandering in the most sinister of the left recesses they are veering a bit dexterously to the right. Our insistence on the dramatization of every day common ugliness has been too much stressed and the present trend, unless all the apparent signs are deceiving, shall be toward a new estheticism. This, however, does not imply that there will be a return to the old school, for the contributions of our moderns will leave their undisputed influence on the future trend in the artistic schools of the world.

The great protest of the present period was against particularization of the materialistic school with its concomitant a somewhat elaborate estheticism. This rebel mood became so pronounced that it came to be mistaken as the opposition to estheticism itself. The result was the Marinetti fad with its by products of Gertrude Steins in poetry, Archipanko in sculpture and in the stage productions of Meyerhold or Ferdinandoff, Foregger and Schierscheiniewitch. In America the extreme of that school was rarely in evidence. On the stage we saw the spirit of the reaction in many of our beautiful productions but in its pure form we had only a very few examples, such for instance when Mr. Robert Edmund Jones treated us to a scene or two in Mr. Hopkins' Barrymore production of "Macbeth." In Moscow, however, where the audiences are much more sympathetic to revolutionary novelties the experiments can be viewed with advantage. Nor was the movement there abrupt and without its preparatory period. The difference which Tairoff had with the Art Theatre nine years ago has now resulted in the disagreement which Ferdinandoff has

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with Tairoff—the trend to the left has left Stanislawsky a figure in the theatrical hall of fame.

The Theatre of official opposition to the established schools is housed in a playhouse called GITI and it calls itself "The Theatre of the Left Front." Its exponents are Meyerhold, Foregger, Ferdinandoff and Schierscheiniewitch. Meyerhold began as early as 1912 to point to the school of Stanislawsky and the Moscow Art Theatre as one of outworn classicism, as one belonging to the heroic period of playacting and therefore incompatible with modern life and art. To Meyerhold, more than to any other figure in the Russian Theatre movement belongs the credit as the vanguard of the new orientation. But because of that and also because he is principally a revolutionary the changes can be judged far better from a study of the development of the Kamerny (Chamber) Theatre.

The founders of this theatre are Tairoff, a very able regisseur who was almost lost to the world as a lawyer, and his wife, the actress Koonen. In 1913 these two, together with a group of actors and artists, founded the Moscow Free Theatre in order to break away from the school of acting and production of Stanislawskys. Within a year, however, differences arose among them and it was found that Tairoff's ideas were far too revolutionary, for he desired "to completely break off with the past." Tairoff and Koonen and their group left the Free Theatre and established the Kamerny Theatre in Moscow on the 25th of December, 1914. According to Tairoff the Kamerny was to become the theatre of "synthesis" where the emphasis was to be laid on "acting to which scenery, costumes and the play were to be entirely subservient." His actors and actresses were to be dancers, singers and acrobats, and to achieve that end he was obliged to build a new school of acting, stage decorations and even playwrights.

Among his actors was Ferdinandoff, and among his playwrights Schierschieniewitch, both of whom were later to desert him. Tairoff proposed that the breach with the

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past schools should consist in abandoning all conventions, particularly those of conventional esthetics for sake of motion and freedom of action and expression. The philosophy of this school manifests itself in synthesis which we find in the best examples of sketching and caricaturing where a few lines often express more completely the story and the character than the most detailed Messonier.

This year the Kamerny Theatre is entering on its ninth year of existence. It has a repertoire of many plays; it has a devoted audience; it has been made a State institution; its activities embrace a school, a workshop and a journal, and it is planning to enlarge the seating capacity of its playhouse. It has been invited to perform in Berlin, Prague and Paris. In short, it is a success. In its repertoire its selection ranges from Racine's "Phedre" and Wilde's "Salome" to the "Yellow Jacket" and Chesterton's "The Man Who Was Thursday," Debussy's "Box of Toys," a pantomime of Schnitzler's, and Dohaney's "The Veil of Pierrot." Its playwrights and decorators have altered the versions, costumes and stage settings of these plays to fit into the scheme of the Kamerny. This treatment was applied to "Romeo and Juliette," "The Merry Wives of Windsor" and to the old French operetta of "Girofle and Girofla," the Kamerny's latest hit.

Americans would find these performances as startlingly novel as futuristic or cubistic productions. But in Moscow where Mr. Tairoff can rest convinced that after eight years of existence his experiment is a success, and his method has become an established school, he finds that he has lost the leadership of the left wing and that because of the revolution which has happened in the Russian theatre within the past eight years his "left" position has shifted to the center. As the founders of the more radical schools are his former associates the controversy has all the poignancy of a family feud. The differences are, however, fundamental. Because of this shifting of the tendencies of the theatre, the Kamerny now finds itself at the cross-roads.

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The left wing of the theatre is again led by Meyerhold who is a sort of a revolutionary weather vane of the theatrical currents of Russia. There are, however, three theatres of the Left Front. Their only point in common is their disagreement with the established conventions of the theatre. The name of the playhouse "Giti" is derived from the abbreviated names of the enterprise, abbreviation of names being the Russian vogue now, i. e., Gosudarstvenyi Institut Theatralnevo Iskustva (The State Institute of the Theatrical Arts.)

Of the three schools that of Meyerhold is the most original, it being substantially an application of constructivism to the stage. He calls it the "bio-mechanical" theatre. The stage on which his productions are given is of a very unusual character. There is a scaffold-like structure to represent two stories of a house, and within it a number of openings with revolving boards to suggest doors and windows. This scaffolding is supplemented by a number of wheels somewhat like our ferris wheels, and a disk. There are also a few step-ladders and two sliding boards. A curved, irregularly shaped settee represents a combination of household furniture, a chair, a table and sideboard or a commode. The characters both male and female are dressed in suits of blue demin similar to overalls. They have but very little of make-up. The theory of freedom of the actor during the performance has here been carried somewhat further. For instance, the performers do not walk downstairs but slide down the sliding board. The doors are like our storm doors except that they have no partitions but turn in on central pivots. In going out the actor holds on to the door and by pushing himself off the ground with his feet he swings out of the room. The purpose of the wheels and the disc is "dramatic," that is to say, they supply the bio-mechanics to the performance. They remain stationary until a psychological moment arises in the mind of one of the characters when they begin to turn. As there are no wings or masking portions to the stage set, the stage hand

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who turns the wheels is visible to the audience. The wheels are revolved with a rapidity in proportion to the psychological crisis to the plays.

Another innovation is the absence of the curtain—the stage darkens at the end of each act for a few seconds and this marks the divisions in the performance. The scaffolding with its wheels seems quite convenient for it can be made to represent a multitude of sets from the kitchen to the library. The large black disk contains the name of the author C-r-o-m-l-i-n-k, the letters in white being scattered in a somewhat dadaistic fashion about the black wheel. This title disk apparently represents the more ponderous of the emotions for the disk is made to revolve slowly during the dramatic crises. This wheel is curious for it raises the question whether it represents the emotion of the actor or whether the absent author is having his impressions biomechanically recorded in this posthumous fashion. It was with these prerequisites that Meyerhold produced his first opus "Velikodushny Rogonochec" (The Magnanimous Horns-Wearer, i. e., Cuckold) adapted from the French farce of Cromelinks. The play was well received and well attended, the explanation given by some in Moscow being firstly the popularity of Meyerhold and secondly the pornographic character of the piece with its tendency toward a good deal of horseplay.

The success becomes all the more remarkable for the Gitis Theatre is one of the most unattractive in Moscow. It is some distance away from the center of the city and because of the high altitude of its auditorium it is impossible to heat it. The spectators sit in wraps and overcoats. The audience consists mainly of the younger generation which patronizes ardently the modern whether it be at the exhibition of the painters at Schukine's Gallery, the recitations of the poets at the Poet's Cafe, or the productions of Meyerhold. It knows that the Ferdinandoff of today will be the Tairoff of tomorrow and the Tairoff of the present time may become a Stanislawsky twenty years hence. It knows

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that revolution is the affair of the young, and it gives its support to the crude beginnings so that they may grow and ripen.

The other schools which were housed in the Giti Theatre were those of Ferdinandoff and Schierschieniewitch, the theatre of "Heroistic Experimentalism" with its method of metro-rhythmic acting, and the school of Foregger's, the Theatre of Parody. The Foregger school is still in its studio stage and its experiments are now taking place in a small cabaret theatre. Parody, when skilfully performed is the highest kind of entertainment. The danger always exists that it may degenerate into buffoonery when it becomes not art, but burlesque. But of late there have been some very fine parodies done in Europe, one in Berlin by Reinhardt in his noted production of "Orpheus in the Underworld" and the other in Moscow by the Studio of the Moscow Art Theatre in its new version of "Princess Turandot."

It is in "Princess Turandot" that passages like the following occur. One of the principal characters leaves the performance and stepping out onto the apron answers an imaginary telephone conversation wherein he tells his friends that he is playing Prince Pantaloon in "Princess Turandot," that the production is "so-so," and after chatting a while begs him to excuse him as the play and the audience are waiting for him to come back to play. There, also, a double set of actors appear, one set mimicing the acting mannerisms of the actors in the piece. One can surmise how easily these sketches can be overdrawn or overdone. Foregger is said to be studying the means to a more perfect way of parodying plays and then parodying parodies.

Quite different in its character is the theatre of Ferdinandoff and Scherscheiniewitch. Both of them are young men who deserted Tairoff finding him too conservative and inclined by costuming and stage accessories to be impeding the freedom of the play and of the actors. And yet one can

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detect in Ferdinandoff's experiment approaches toward the newer estheticism. By newer estheticism is implied a new romantic mood freed from detailization, a nuance of colorful symbolism where modern lighting methods and newer ways of producing space and distance will play a predominant part, such as in painting they do in Monet's pictures of cathedrals, or in his haunting drawing "The Seagulls against the House of Parliament." But Ferdinandoff would not admit of any such compromise. His theory of "metro-rhythm" is unique in its conception of acting with a slight tendency toward the ludicrous. In its conception of staging (inscenierung) it is quite in keeping with our present day general currents in art. According to the founders of this "Heroistically-experimental" theatre every person has a certain rhythm, and speaks, moves and lives in accord with a certain tempo. Therefore each of the stage characters is furnished metric rhythm according to which he or she moves, acts and speaks. To convey the theory to the audience and to give the key-note to the actor he has a piano strike off a few notes before each actor appears, and also as accompaniment to the actor in his opening lines. To those who are uninitiated this seems quite unnecessary because the tuning is immediately lost while its sounding at the outset seems to jar.

The performance also dispensed with the curtain, but the scenery was changed by the stage hands at the end of each of the acts. Two productions have been staged so far —an old classical comedy by Ostrovsky, "The Storm," and an "American detective play" called "The Lady with the Black Gloves" by Scherscheiniewitch. The settings representing the more conservative Matisses, contain certain decorative effects. For instance, during one of the series of pictures which are used to convey Ostrovsky's "Storm," the action takes place on a hill back of a Russian city. The effect of the hill is successfully achieved by sets of broken horizontally assembled blocks placed in layers leading up to a somewhat jaggedly broken level. Back of this pyra-

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midical hilltop appear two unevenly distanced church-towers composed of free squares of reddish blocks and an eliptic surface suggestive of a roof. This set which is like the modelisation of any of the numerous paintings by the futurists is set against a grey backdrop. At first the effect seems uncouth and the inclination exists to ridicule it, but as the play progresses the simplicity and the spacing gives illusion to it. When the heroine climbs to the top of the hill and standing, impassionately proclaims her lines, the picture is replete with suggestiveness for imagination to work on. The acting being competent there is nothing to mar the sketched effect. The lead is being played by Arsiniewa, a young actress who possesses a remarkable clarity of diction.

Unfortunately the life of the Ferdinandoff theatre at The Giti was not of a long duration. Meyerhold, according to the press reports, disagreed with Ferdinandoff over the theory as well as over a more practical matter—income. While his performances were packed, those of the "Heroistically experimental" suffered the penalty of unknown youth. As Meyerhold is said to be obliged to bear the financial obligations of the Giti enterprise, he unceremoniously ejected Ferdinandoff, Schierschieniewitch and all of their youthful followers. The evening that this happened the company appeared at all the theatres in Moscow and solicited the audiences for support in order that they could establish their theatre in some other house. It was said that the group intended to go to the provinces just as the now successful Tairoff did some years ago with his experiment.

The Giti remains in the hands of Meyerhold who is hurriedly preparing other pieces to follow "The Magnanimous Cuckold." His second offering will be, it was said, a new version of "Oedipus" by Sophocles. This "Oedipus" with sliding boards and ferris wheels will, doubtless, be novel.

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In this battle of the theatres it is curious to know whereto the way is leading. Ferdinandoff's criticism of Tairoff led to the theatres of the left front. Will now Meyerhold's quarrel with Ferdinandoff bring him to a front still further to the left? The answer lies, it would seem, in the direction which the Kamerny Theatre is going to take. The Kamerny can no longer claim being the theatre which has "completely broken with the past"—that statement has lost originality and is disputed by both Meyerhold and Ferdinandoff. The Kamerny will, probably, turn its efforts now more toward acquiring of new estheticism rather than in an attempt to outvie the radical tendencies of some of its former progeny. For it would tax the inventive power of even a Russian theatrical producer to improve on the ferris wheels or sliding board of the "Cuckold" production.

It is true that there are other theatres in Moscow of an unprecedented character such as "Semperante," "The Theatre of Improvisation" which provides plays improvised *in transitu*. But that theatre is an intellectual curiosity, and has no direct participation in the conflict of the left and the right fronts. Another novel theatre situated in one of the side streets of Moscow is "The Gabima," the only ancient Hebrew Theatre in the world. Its regisseur, of the Moscow Art Theatre, died recently, and it is likely to turn to either Tairoff or Meyerhold for future direction. Then there is the "Theatre of the Revolution," which is performing plays with a political mission such as Toller's "Maschinensturmer."

These are theatres which have a definite mission. In the city of too many theatres—Moscow—the number of experimental playhouses multiply from year to year. They, however, will take the hint as to the form and method in producing from the established general theatres. In this controversy and uncertainty the eyes of Moscow are on the Kamerny. Which way will it turn? Mr. Tairoff when pointedly asked this question gave the following answer in writing: "Being a contemporary theatre, the Kamerny at-

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tempts generally to evolve a type of performance which would to the fullest extent answer the requirements of the life of today. The principal problem is synthesis. Actually the Kamerny is not taking a part in the conservative nor in the radical theatrical movements. It is representative of the evolutionary tendency in art and in its work it is constantly attempting to create new form and to solve new problems of the art of the stage." All of which one would call in legal terminology a good answer by avoidance. But if it is evolutionary the next stage of its growth will be of considerable interest to the entire theatrical world. For even the great exponents of futurism, Matisse and Picasso, seem vaguely in search for a new path, and futurist poets have relegated Miss Gertrude Stein to the Sunday comic supplements. Everywhere in Art the rebellion against prettiness has lost the keeness of its edge. A new beauty graduated entirely from the Biedemeyer and post-Victorian kindergartners seems to be the aim toward which all our Arts are tending.

UNDER THE SKY

By HENRY SAUL

He walks in the wide strangeness of lonely being,
And gives song to the sleep of infinite blue;
Aware of things around but dimly seeing,
He lives within himself, there is no You.
Here, in the passing calmness of this hour,
His senses slowly come to be confined
In an immunity, built from his power,
To harbor perfect solitude of mind.
Therein great waves of thought compose a sea,
Where the horizon of other lives without
Holds on its circle distant symphony.
And while this interlude gives space to fold
A musical hearing to all things about,
He gathers a life within a moment's mold.

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THE NEW LIBERALISM OF ENGLAND

By J. ELLIS BARKER

WITH blowing of trumpets and beating of drums a new Manchester school of Liberalism has been created. Its founders hope to give to Liberalism, which seemed to be decadent, a new lease of life and to achieve great things. As the writer of Ecclesiastics has told us more than two thousand years ago, there is nothing new under the sun. The new Liberalism is identical with the old, both in its aims and in its methods.

The old Liberalism, while pretending to be popular and democratic, merely endeavored to deprive the landed aristocracy of its power and to make the monied merchant and manufacturer supreme. The territorial dukes and earls who had ruled England for centuries were to be replaced by similarly absolute merchant princes and factory barons. At that time the franchise was possessed by the landed grandees and their retainers. Members of Parliament were rather nominated by a few ruling families than elected. The towns, many of which were of mushroom growth, sent only a few representatives to the House of Commons. Many important cities were practically disfranchised while decayed villages, the so-called rotten boroughs, possessing a few privileged electors, chose a member of parliament in accordance with the wishes of the local magnate.

The industrial revolution, the advent of the steam engine, had created a wealthy class of capitalists. They wished to obtain power. They felt hampered by the narrow franchise existing and by the privileges possessed by the landed aristocracy. In order to overthrow the old ruling class, the merchants and manufacturers wished to obtain the support of the masses in the towns. The dissatisfied town workers were promised a new heaven and a new earth, and

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violent movements on their part were welcomed because it was believed that the ruling aristocracy should be over-awed by threats. Revolutionary movements in other countries were welcomed and encouraged. The French Revolution of 1789 was greeted with jubilation and enthusiasm and its motto Liberty, Fraternity and Equality became the motto of the English Liberal Party. The war cries of the French revolutionaries have been used ever since. The Rt. Hon. C. F. G. Masterman wrote in his book "The New Liberalism" which was first published in 1920 in ringing phrases, which sound rather French than English:—

"Emerging from the gigantic ruin of men's hopes and dreams, Liberalism once more plants a defiant banner and proclaims its secure message to the world.

Its ideal is Liberty, Fraternity, Equal Opportunity in all that is essential to human well-being, for all the family of mankind. It believes in personal possession, in the ownership of private property, in competition for success and attainment, in the stimulus of such competition amongst a race of men always inclined to ease, and amongst most of which no large unrest of mind furnishes a perpetual stimulus to action. It believes that such competition can be made an entirely beneficial force and that without it energy dies, and mankind settles down to an ignoble content. And the distance is but short from the land of ignoble content to the land of degeneration and decay. It believes in Democracy . . . It knows no method of making all men equal. It is calling aloud for the abandonment of the policy of revenge, and the establishment of the League of Nations; for a universal effort at 'reparation'; for the saving of the European civilization, now so hardly beset. It is calling for the abandonment of militarism; for peace. It is looking towards self-determination and self-government, and resolved to effect in Ireland that peace and security which it has effected elsewhere by the application of Liberal principles to men or nations rightly struggling to be free. At home it is fighting for that national economy and forsaking

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of extravagance which is the only alternative to national bankruptcy. It is determined so to adjust the national burdens that they shall as little as may be hamper trade or intensify poverty. It demands a drastic treatment of all the monopolies, natural or artificial, and the industries upon which all others depend . . .

It is determined to take up again the campaign against poverty, temporarily suspended during the war. It will establish a national standard of life in wages, hours of work, house accommodation, opportunities of improvement. It is determined to remove the consequences of unemployment, the fear of which is the chief enemy of increased production, and the experience of which no man should be compelled to endure . . .

The leaders of British Liberalism have published proclamations in sentences as sonorous as those of Mr. Masterman since the earliest days. In practice, however, far from introducing Liberty, Fraternity and Equality, they have merely introduced a new oligarchy, an oligarchy of wealth. In the olden days England's leaders were exclusively furnished by the great landowners. Since the advent of Liberalism, merchants and manufacturers, and particularly cotton merchants, have come to the fore. Peel, Bright, Cobden, Gladstone, Campbell Bannerman, Chamberlain and many others belong to that class. Modern English Liberalism arose in Manchester, the great centre of the cotton trade. Peel, Bright and Cobden, etc., were cotton manufacturers and merchants and they followed in the main not a democratic policy but a cotton policy. They wished to sell their manufactures all over the world. In order to produce more cheaply than their foreign competitors, they desired to keep the cost of living low. They advocated the abolition of the Corn Laws and the introduction of Free Trade, partly because they thought it would benefit the cotton industry, partly because they hoped that Free Trade in bread-corn would ruin their opponents, the landowners. Cheap flour was desired not only with a view to keep down the cost of

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of living, and, with the cost of living, wages, but also because flour was largely used for "dressing" cotton cloth. In their desire to monopolize the cotton trade of the world and to make England the workshop of the world, they preached universal Free Trade, guided by the idea "my trade, my country," they sneered at patriotism, they wished to consider every policy from the point of view of profit or loss, they demanded that England should get rid of her colonies because they yielded no profit, they pursued a policy of sordid Mammonism while mouthing high ideals. Lord Roseberry, who at one time was Liberal Prime Minister, once described, not without cause, the policy of Liberalism as "organized hypocrisy."

Liberalism has, in the past, been extraordinarily successful in exploiting popular dissatisfaction. The dissatisfied were given boundless promises, but the advocates of Liberty, Fraternity and Equality pursued successfully a policy which was beneficial to the few. Liberal leaders developed a veritable genius in side tracking great popular movements and using them for their own advantage.

Ever since the beginning the merchants and manufacturers controlling the Liberal Party have been powerfully supported by economic theorists and writers who furnished them with arguments and more or less scientific propaganda. Among the intellectual fathers of Liberalism are Adam Smith, Bentham, James Mill and John Stuart Mill, Ricardo, Herbert Spencer and many others. In order to ensure the predominance of the Free Trade doctrine, various organizations were created, such as the Cobden Club, and arrangements were made whereby professorships in political economy at the British universities were strictly reserved to reliable Free Traders.

In the past, England was governed solely by the landowners. With the advent of Liberalism, landowners, manufacturers and merchants ruled the country between them. Professorial and other agitators were kept in a position of strict inferiority. Political ambition has recently spread to

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the impecunious intellectuals. It seems possible that a new governing class composed of professional agitators and agitating professors is arising. At any rate the professors are no longer willing to play second fiddle to political figure heads. The Socialist Labor Party is dominated by Professor Sidney Webb, and in the new Manchester School of Liberalism the most conspicuous figures are Professor Keynes, Professor Ramsay Muir, Professor Hobhouse and various other learned politicians.

Until recently the two-party system prevailed in England. The Whigs and Tories who ruled during the period when the landed aristocracy monopolized all power were succeeded by the Conservatives and Liberals. Lately, a third party, the Socialist Labor Party, which rather represents Socialism than Labor, has arisen. Its advance may be seen from the following figures:

General election,		1900,	2	Labor	members	elected
"	"	1906,	29	"	"	"
"	" Jan.	1910,	40	"	"	"
"	" Dec.	1910,	42	"	"	"
"	"	1918,	61	"	"	"
"	"	1922,	142	"	"	"

Between 1900 and 1921 the membership of the Labor Party grew from 375,931 to 4,010,361 or more than tenfold, while its representation in Parliament increased seventyfold. Liberalism had always claimed to be "the friend of Labor." However, Socialist Labor refused to be patronized any longer by a middle-class Liberalism. It declared that the policy of the Liberal Party was a sham and a fraud and it began to overshadow the formerly so great Liberal Party which hitherto had taken Labor under its wing. At the last General Election 117 Liberals were returned and they were divided into two sections. The Liberals, who hitherto had played a predominant part in Parliament, had to take a back seat. The position was very galling. A popular movement threatened to overwhelm, and possibly to extinguish, the great Liberal Party unless it could once more be side-

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tracked in the same way in which all the other great movements of the past, from the Chartist movement onward, had been sidetracked and exploited. From the rapid growth of the Labor Party, both in Parliament and without, it would seem that before long Labor might be predominant. However, a study of the last Election results indicates that the majority of the workers have not voted for Labor representatives, but have voted for Conservative and Liberal candidates. The votes cast were distributed among the various Parties as follows:

Conservative Party	5,457,871
Labor	4,251,011
Liberal	2,683,371
National Liberal	1,429,641
Communist	28,411
Prohibitionist	32,578
Nationalist	
Others	285,559
Total	14,168,472

Labor was given considerably less than one-third of the votes. It is difficult to ascertain how many people in Great Britain belong to the Labor class. If we assume that the Labor class consists of those people whose household income is less than £300 a year, it appears that there are in Great Britain more than 12,000,000 working class voters. Of these, roughly speaking, one-third voted for Labor candidates while two-thirds voted for Conservative and Liberal candidates. There is obviously a good chance for Liberalism to regain control over the working masses by suitably re-arranging its programme.

Some time before the last General Election, the demand for popularizing Liberalism became very strong. Many Liberals felt that the ground was slipping from under their feet. A number of men and women banded themselves together in the desire to regain control over the workers' vote. They studied the programme of Socialist Labor and evolved

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proposals in which Liberal principles and Socialist proposals were blended. The Socialist intellectuals were in the habit of discussing policy and drawing up programmes at summer schools. A number of young Liberals met likewise at a summer school, held at Oxford in 1922, and their meetings were inaugurated by an address by Mr. Asquith and closed by an address by Lord Grey. Thus, the movement was given an official benediction. The papers read at Oxford were reprinted in a volume entitled "Essays in Liberalism."

The first paper was read by Lord Robert Cecil. It deals with the League of Nations of which he is the warmest advocate. Lord Robert used to be a Conservative, but nobody knows to what Party he now belongs. It is generally believed that he aims at creating a Party of his own which is to carry out a programme of vague cosmopolitanism which is advocated by both Liberals and Socialists. At one time it was thought that he might become the leader of the Labor Party. In his address he stated:

"If you are to have peace in the world, it is not enough merely to provide safeguards against war. You must aim at creating a new International spirit, a new spirit in International affairs . . .

"Looking deeper into the matter, into the very foundations we recognize, all of us, the most devoted adherents of the League, and all men of good will, that in the end we must strive for the brotherhood of man. We admit we can do comparatively little to help it forward. We recognize that our efforts, whether by covenant or other means, must necessarily be imperfect; but we say, and say rightly, that we have been told that perfect love casteth out fear, and that any step towards that love, however imperfect, will, at any rate, mitigate the terrors of mankind."

With sentimental claptrap, unworthy of a Cecil, or indeed of an intelligant man, he appealed for support to the Socialists of the sentimental kind who have little influence. He did not say how the desired "new spirit" was to be

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created. His recommendation for a "brotherhood of man" reminds one of the cry of the French revolutionaries *"La Fraternité ou la mort."* Socialism is in the main a policy of plunder. At the same time Lord Robert appealed to the Liberals by recommending Free Trade and condemning the half-hearted and shamefaced attempt at introducing some form of protection under the Safeguarding of Industries Act which had been made by the late Government. He stated:

"We have been preaching to Europe, and quite rightly, that the erection of economic barriers between countries is a treachery to the whole spirit of the League of Nations and all that it means. . . . The Safeguarding of Industries Act is absolutely opposed to the whole spirit and purpose which the League of Nations has in view."

Professor Pollard, a well-known historian, in an address on the Balance of Power, condemned the old system and recommended cosmopolitanism, beloved by all Liberals and the League of Nations, beloved by all Socialists, while General Sir Frederick Maurice read a dull paper on International Disarmament, a policy which also is supposed to be favored by both Liberals and Socialists. The next paper is one by Professor Keynes, who is rather a journalist and politician than an economist. He enjoys the greatest prestige with the Socialists, who are pro-German—Germany is their intellectual home—for Professor Keynes has advocated the drastic revision of the peace treaty in Germany's favor ever since the publication of his book "The Economic Consequences of the Peace" in which he made most indiscreet disclosures and abused the confidence which the British Government had reposed in him. Professor Keynes has attracted the favorable notice of Socialist Labor, not only by agitating unceasingly in favor of the country of Karl Marx, but also by agitating in favor of Bolshevist Russia. He has hinted that all Europe may be engulfed by anarchy, that all Europe may become Bolshevized. He wrote in the book mentioned:

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"The principle of accumulation based on inequality was a vital part of the pre-war order of Society and of progress, as we then understood it, and to emphasize that this principle depended on unstable psychological conditions, which it may be impossible to re-create. It was not natural for a population, of whom so few enjoyed the comforts of life, to accumulate so hugely. The war has disclosed the possibility of consumption to all and the vanity of abstinence to many. Thus the bluff is discovered; the laboring classes may no longer be willing to forego so largely, and the capitalist classes, no longer confident of the future, may seek to enjoy more fully their liberties of consumption so long as they last, and thus precipitate the hour of their confiscation. . . .

"Europe consists of the densest aggregation of population in the history of the world. This population is accustomed to a relatively high standard of life, in which, even now, some sections of it anticipate improvement, rather than de-deterioration. . . . This population secured for itself a livelihood before the War, without much margin of surplus, by means of a delicate and immensely complicated organization, of which the foundations were supported by coal, iron, transport and an unbroken supply of imported food and raw materials from other continents. By the destruction of this organization and the interruption of the stream of supplies, a part of this population is deprived of its means of livelihood. Emigration is not open to the redundant surplus . . . The danger confronting us, therefore, is the rapid depression of the standard of life of the European populations to a point which will mean actual starvation for some (a point already reached in Russia and approximately reached in Austria). Men will not always die quietly. For starvation, which brings to some lethargy and a helpless despair, drives other temperaments to the nervous instability of hysteria and to a mad despair. And these in their distress may overturn the remnants of organization, and submerge civilization itself in their attempts to satisfy desperately the overwhelming needs of the individual."

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Professor Keynes foretold the big breakdown of capitalistic society in accordance with Marxian doctrine to the great satisfaction of all Socialists. At the same time, he made his mark with Free Traders by his general policy and his fatalistic attitude. According to him, the condition of the workers can be improved only by a restriction of the population, not by increased production. He wrote, for instance, in the *Manchester Guardian Supplement* of the 4th of January, 1923:

"In the light of present knowledge I am unable to see any possible method of materially improving the average human lot which does not include a plan for restricting the increase of numbers. If, in Malthusian language, the checks of poverty, disease and war are to be removed, something must be put in their place. It may prove sufficient to render the restriction of offspring safe and easy to change a little (not so very much) custom and conventional morals. Perhaps a more positive policy may be required . . . Action on the issues of peace and numbers is possible as soon as sufficient people desire it."

Among the demands of the British Socialists is one for a Capital Levy. Naturally, all business men strongly object to that impost. Sir Josiah Stamp, a high retired Inland Revenue official, who writes dry and scientific books, had before a committee of investigation which sat after the war, recommended a levy on capital in rather involved terms. He had been under the misapprehension that English capital had been increased by the war, because many values had risen. When it was pointed out to him that there had been no increase of British capital, but a shrinkage, that there had been merely an increase in nominal values, owing to inflation, he hedged as well as he could. Sir Josiah was put up to discuss national finances at Oxford, where he stated professorially:

"I do not rule the capital levy out as impracticable by any means, but as a taxation expedient, I cannot be enthusiastic about it. It is a desperate remedy. But, if our present

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temper for annual tax relief at all costs continues, we may need a desperate remedy. Without a levy, what kind of position can you look forward to?

The question whether the burden of rapidly relieving debt by this means in an installment levy over a decade is actually lighter than the sinking fund method, depends on the relation of the drop in prices over the short period to the drop over the ensuing period, with a proper allowance for discount—at the moment an insoluble problem. I cannot yet, with confidence, join those who, on purely economic and non-political grounds, commend the scheme and treat it as "good business for the income tax payer."

With the skill worthy of a Gladstone, Sir Josiah made a deep pronouncement, regarding a capital levy, which means exactly nothing, but his pronouncement can be explained as easily as favorable to a capital levy as it can be explained as being unfavorable to it. Hence, it may please both Liberls and Socialists, according to their interpretation of the obscure phraseology used.

The essay mentioned was followed by an address on Free Trade by the Rt. Hon. J. M. Robertson, who is half a Liberal and half a Socialist. Among his numerous publications there is one which bears the extraordinary and highly significant title "The Fallacy of Thrift," which is frequently quoted by Socialists who condemn thrift, calling it immoral. In the usual Liberal manner he praised Free Trade to the skies in accordance with Cobden's precedent who proclaimed that Free Trade was inspired by the Deity. The speaker stated:

"The doctrine of Free Trade is *science,* or it is nothing. It is not a passing cry of faction, or a survival of prejudice, but the unshakeable inference of a hundred years of economic experience verifying economic science on which the great experiment was founded . . . The Free Trade issue lies at the heart of sound democratic politics, and if the nation does not save its liberties at the next election, it will pay the price in corrupted politics no less than in ruined trade."

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Trade, as Aristotle has told us more than two thousand years ago, produces nothing. England's prosperity, like that of every country, depends upon production. However, Free Trade doctrinaires still live in the delusion that the producer can look after himself, not realizing that England's world monopoly in production is gone, that she is being undersold by many countries, that many of her industries are suffering.

Liberalism is opposed to State ownership. Socialism is in favor of it. Exactly as Sir Josiah Stamp was to reconcile the irreconcilable views of Liberals and Socialists with regard to a capital levy, Mr. W. T. Layton was to reconcile Liberalism and Socialism with regard to State ownership Like Sir Josiah Stamp, he made a deep but vague pronouncement, which either side can quote. It was as follows:

"There is the question whether there should be a great extension of State ownership, management, or control of monopolies and big business. In spite of the experience of the war, I suggest tentatively that no case has been made out for any wide or general extension of the field of State management in industry. This, however, is not a matter of principle, but of expediency, where each case must be considered on its merits. Liberals should, indeed, keep an open mind in this connection, and not be afraid to face an enlargement of the field of State management from time to time . . . Personally, I think the question whether railways should, or should not be nationalized, is very much on the balance . . . My own view is that an amended form of railway control should first be tried, and if that fails, we should be prepared for some form of nationalization."

The New Liberalism is evidently as Janus-faced as the old.

In the past, the motto of Liberalism was "Peace, Retrenchment and Reform." The New Liberalism still advocates peace and reform, but it speaks in two voices with regard to retrenchment. Retrenchment is, of course, favored by the Liberal business man and the middle class. On

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the other hand the Socialists and the workers in general demand ever-increasing State subsidies of every kind. Among the demands of the Socialists is one for vastly increased assistance to the unemployed. Wishing to smash capitalism, many Socialists demand unemployed pay at full Trade Union wages. The opposed demands of Liberals and of Socialists had to be harmonized and that feat was performed by Professor H. D. Henderson in his address on unemployment in which we read:

"Unemployment in the last two years has been far more widespread and intense than it has ever been before in modern times and never was it less true that the men out of work have mainly themselves to blame. But it has meant far less distress, far less destruction of human vitality, and I will add far less demoralization of human character than many of the bad years we had before the war. That is due to the system of doles, the national and local doles; and in the circumstances I prefer that system with all its anomalies to the alternative of a substantially lower scale of relief. We are still in the midst of that emergency; and if we are faced, as I think for this decade we must expect to be faced, with that dilemma which I indicated earlier, I should prefer, and I hope that every Liberal will prefer, to err by putting the scale of relief somewhat too high for prudence and equity rather than obviously too low for humanity and decency."

The great British coal strike was caused principally by the demand by the organized miners for the nationalization of the coal mines. However, the miners' leaders did not mean that the nationalized mines should belong to the State but that they should belong to the miners themselves. As the coal miners number about 1,250,000, and as they are exceedingly well organized, their votes are worth having. Mr. Arnold D. McNair gave an address on "The Problem of the Mines," in which he tried to reconcile individual ownership with nationalization by recommending a middle course. The minerals themselves were to become State property and, experimentally, mining should be handed over to "an organ-

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ization which, though not national—not the State—should be at any rate, public—something on the lines of the Port of London Authority." In various other addresses which it would lead too far to quote, the attempt was made to mix the inflammable oil of Socialism with Liberal cold water.

The views of the professors and others assembled at Oxford were put before the National Liberal Federation. That body, speaking in the name of the Liberal Party, issued a number of resolutions relating to industrial and economic questions in which the recommendation of the New Manchester School were as far as possible reconciled with the tenets of orthodox Liberalism. It would have been dangerous to go too far in adopting a programme of nationalization, doles and plunder. After all, some of the wealthiest Englishmen are supporters of the Liberal Party and of the Party funds. The resolutions adopted are as lengthy and dry as a mediæval legal document. However, they were published in an abbreviated and popularized form by the Liberal Party for use at the last General Election. That interesting document reads in part as follows:

Industrial Organization.

"It is held that statutory bodies should be established with defined powers for the regulation of industry, these being subject always to the ultimate control of Parliament.

"A National Industrial Council should be established by Parliament to make recommendation upon questions affecting the general problems of industry. The Council should be composed of representatives of employers, workers and the community.

"Every industry should possess an Industrial Council or Trade Board representing not only management and manual labor, but technicians and other brain workers.

"A Royal Commission should be appointed to enquire into the practicability of a reasonable limitation of profits distributed to shareholders in public trading companies, especially trusts.

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Distribution, Control, Wages and Hours.

"A more equal distribution of the national income is essential, and the worker is entitled to a fair share of the product of his industry. In the matter of control, the workers must have a full share in arranging the conditions that affect their own lives, and it is also considered that there should be self-government in industry.

"As to wages and hours, there should be legal minimum wages in all industries, and these should be accompanied by legal maximum hours.

Unemployment and Old Age Pensions.

"The proposal in regard to unemployment is that the National Industrial Council should present to Parliament a national scheme of relief, making each trade or group of trades responsible for dealing with its own unemployment as far as practicable, and deriving the required funds from the trades themselves with the aid of State contributions. The scheme should provide, as far as possible, for decasualization by apportioning casual and unskilled labor among the trades concerned. It is declared, further, that national and local public works should be adjusted to balance trade fluctuations.

"As to Old Age Pensions the suggestion is that, as soon as financial circumstances permit, Parliament should reduce the age at which pensions become payable, and make fuller and more adequate provision for old people by increasing the present rate of Old Age Pensions.

Nationalization.

"General nationalization is declared to be undesirable, as tending to destroy freedom, check initiative and impoverish the people. There are, however, certain industries and services which might be usefully nationalized or municipalized, each case being considered on its merits.

"In the case of mineral rights there is a general agreement that these should be nationalized.

Trusts and Combines

"The Board of Trade should obtain information as to

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the operations of Trusts and Combines, enquire into complaints, and report to Parliament at intervals.

"Another recommendation is that a Tribunal should be set up to which it might refer cases for inquiry and necessary action.

"In this connection it is agreed that those combinations should be made illegal which raise prices unreasonably or refuse to sell to or supply persons who will not deal exclusively with a Trust.

International Trade.

"The Liberal view is that protective fiscal measures are obstructive to trade and injurious to the people. It is accordingly declared that the relations between this country and others should be such as to assist and encourage mutual trade, and that to this end, the Free Trade policy of the country should be fully restored.

Land and Minerals.

"The site valuation of the land should be amended and brought up to date, the value of all minerals and mining rights being included under site value. There should be a uniform national tax on the capital site value of the whole country, and local authorities should be required to levy a rate on site value in reduction of the rate now levied on the existing ratable value.

"Claimants to rights over minerals should be required to make return of their interests, and those returns should be subjected to site value rates and taxes.

"In cases where minerals are taken over by the State, the value at which they are acquired should be the value agreed upon for the purpose of rating and taxation.

Acquisition of Land.

"The transfer of land should be as simple and as cheap as the transfer of personal property.

"The purchase price of land acquired compulsorily should be assessed by independent valuers appointed by the Government, who should also assess compensation awarded in respect of disturbance.

"The basis of the purchase price of lands and buildings

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so taken should be the capital value in the National Valuation.

Agriculture.

"Minimum standards of wages for agricultural laborers should be fixed by District Wages Boards. All subsidies, guaranteed prices and Government interference with farmers should be abandoned, together with controlled prices and the guarantee of minimum prices for agricultural produce.

"Whilst means should be found to prevent the misuse or under-cultivation of the land, the tenant farmer and allotment holder should have security of tenure.

"The Game Laws should be reformed.

"Means should be found for giving the rural population a share in the land by a sufficient supply of small holdings and allotments and for giving the laborer a defined status and a clear voice in the industry.

"The hardships of the tied cottage system should be removed.

"The State should promote and financially aid agricultural research."

It will be noticed that the programme is a town programme, not a country programme. The town workers are to be benefitted by subsidies and assistance in every form, but no protection is to be given to the agricultural workers who have been decimated by free imports. The New Manchester School has obviously been able to force its views upon the Liberal Party which was in danger, not merely of decline, but of extermination.

In the view of some old-fashioned Liberals the new programme is rank Socialism, is treason to the Liberal tradition. In the opinion of others, the programme is merely a half-hearted and not very honest attempt to reconcile irreconcilable elements. It remains to be seen whether the much heralded New Liberalism will regain the power it has lost. Whether it will do so or not is difficult to say. Men are incalculable and they are the sport of events. Hitherto, the

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Liberal Party has been the party of progress. It has worked for the emancipation of the people from feudalism, from class rule. The great misfortune of the Liberal Party is that its programme has been carried out, that all its old aims have been fulfilled. England has the most democratic franchise for men and women, Ireland has been given self-government with disastrous results to the country, Capital is being taxed out of existence by unbearably high imposts, etc. Possibly, the leaders of the Liberal Party are mistaken in their assumption that there is a popular demand for still more progress, that the people, after having received all the gifts of democracy, wish now for State Socialism and State interference and regulation. After all, Socialism in practice is not democratic but bureaucratic and autocratic, and is apt to be very exasperating to true democrats. Very likely the pendulum is about to swing in the opposite direction in which it has been swinging hitherto. Happily, the new programme of the Liberal Party has an individualistic and a Socialistic aspect. It is as two-faced as some of the individual pronouncements previously quoted. Hence, it will enable skilled politicians to use the programme for any purpose.

MAROONED

By Donald Corley

We landed on the Isle of Noon too late
To find Ulysses' Circe, but meanwhile
We reckoned out our domain, mile by mile,
And found an ample space, but intimate.
Afterward it seemed too small—our new estate,
But large enough for loneliness and guile;
Complained you of the shape, and I the style,
And soon an alibi had claimed its mate.
You thought the error was in latitude,
And when I sought of longitude the blame
You found a subtle argument in tears.
Perhaps those others, too, may have construed
The differences that can save no name;
Meridians do not send hemispheres.

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LUXOR AND POMPEII: A CONTRAST

By F. T. HARRIS

AS the archæologist studies and reflects on the great additions to human knowledge uncovered by the excavations at Luxor, his thoughts instinctively turn to those at other historic points, and there rushes in a host of comparisons of the life, customs, and other distinguishing marks of the different civilizations thus revealed. Work is quietly and continuously proceeding at almost every known spot of historic value in the world, but public interest has lain dormant for many years because nothing either of such enormous scientific value or having the possibilities of such direct effect on our modern life has been found since Pompeii.

It is amazing to find that the Egyptians, surrounded as they were by low orders of African races, possessed a reflective intelligence, an exceptionally rational organization of their various institutions, and a mighty and immortal art. Their art was original with them. It bears the traces of no other previous art. Although the drainage area of the lower portion of the Nile almost literally represented the extent of their country, and their intellectuality was confined by the narrow, involved, and close view of Nature which this compelled, yet the Egyptians were remarkably successful in breaking through this barrier and in their art expressing the immortal spirit which lies beneath the superficial exterior.

The force which urged the Egyptians to produce works or art was the impulse of self-comprehension, and no other medium than stone presented itself for assisting in the promotion of this ideal. Herodotus, the great Greek historian and authority on archæology through his personal travels in Egypt, Palestine, and Babylon, tells us that the Egyptians

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were the first to express concretely the immortality of the soul. Herodotus lived between 500 and 400 B. C., and even then, it must be remembered, Thebes, in Upper Egypt, the most ancient residence of the Egyptian kings, was almost in ruins. From Thebes, the center of the kingdom was transferred to Memphis, near the present city of Cairo, and finally to Sais, in the Nile Delta.

The enormous stone masses of architecture and sculpture, which are found everywhere in Egypt are actually hieroglyphs, or symbols, of a secondary nature. Writing was naturally the primary expression of thought. Hegel says that while the Romans lived century after century with a view only of conquest, the Egyptians raised an empire in works of art which was equally mighty and which is greater and more worthy of admiration than all other works of ancient or modern time.

The outstanding defect in Egyptian art, and also in that of the Assyrians, however, was that it copied with too great a fidelity and accuracy. The Egyptians had no other aim than to transcribe, which proves that realism is not so modern a discovery as is sometimes believed. On the other hand, the art of the Egyptians is remarkable for its intelligent choice of characteristic traits, in this regard frequently excelling that of later epochs. The Greeks, in achieving the perfect interpretation, never troubled to produce the beauty of living and especially of the human form in all their aspects.

Pompeii presents a direct antithesis. It was the miniature of a pulsing civilization. "Within the narrow compass of its walls," as Lord Lytton effectively describes, "was contained, as it were, a specimen of every gift which luxury offered to power. In its minute but glittering shops, its tiny palaces, its baths, its forum, its theatre, its circus—in the energy yet corruption, in the refinement yet the vice, of its people, you behold a model of the whole empire. It was a toy, a plaything, a showbox, in which the gods seemed pleased to keep the representation of the great monarchy of

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earth, and which they afterward hid from time, to give to the wonder of posterity;—the moral of the maxim, that under the sun there is nothing new.

"Crowded in the glassy bay were the vessels of commerce and the gilded galleys for the pleasures of the rich citizens. The boats of the fishermen glided rapidly to and fro; and afar off you saw the tall masts of the fleet under the command of Pliny."

Thus is briefly presented as vivid a picture of life in Pompeii as is to be found in all literature. It gives one, too, an impression of the kind of art which was being developed by Roman civilization.

The Romans were an intensely practical race. They were too busy conquering and doing things to give to art the time and idleness of life which a proper expression demanded. They not only flagrantly copied Greek art, but in almost every phase of their social life they imitated the Greeks in the desire of appearing cultured.

The Romans, unlike the Egyptians, did not have the fundamentals of culture. In the first place, Rome was not formed from an ancient stem, but sprang from a collection of predatory peoples, and had an artificial and violent growth. It is in the manner in which a state is founded and later lives that one may look for the soil to encourage and nourish a real and genuine art. The seeds of art never existed among the Romans, for a state which is born by force, and which is based on force, must therefore be held together by force, and force and art are mutually repellant.

The religious architecture of the Romans is very inferior to that of the Greeks, the most of their temples being, in fact, imperfect imitations of those of Greece. To the Romans, however, belongs the credit of having been the first to comprehend the full value of the keyed arch, which appears to have been originally discovered in the east and thence to have passed to Etruria. An entablature supported by columns had the great disadvantage of requiring blocks of stone both very long and very strong, which were not always

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available. The employment of the arch realized a type of solid durability as complete as that conveyed by the huge solid blocks of the Egyptians, while it escaped their appearance of dull weight and immobility.

Earlier excavators in Pompeii were satisfied with removing the mass of volcanic matter and earth from the ruins. Whatever stood, they left standing, the rest they cleared away. This procedure naturally resulted in the destruction of much valuable material which might have been preserved. Most of the upper stories of the houses, for instance, disappeared in the process. Modern methods are totally different. They have as their objective the recreation of the past, as far as that is now legitimately possible. Excavation is done by layers, working slowly downward from above. In this manner, everything of value is removed, is labeled, and later scientifically and painstakingly reconstructed.

Thus, in the life and art of Egypt and of Pompeii, the microcosm of the vast Roman Empire, is presented as great a contrast as could be found in all the civilizations which are now crumbling into dust.

ANOTHER MIRAGE

By NAN APOTHEKER

Young trees etched slim and black against the dawn,
Blue air of stinging sweetness in our eyes;
All the young world a needle of singing pain;
Something too sharp, too hurting—virgin-wise.
So close behind, the shriek of instruments,
The blare of yellow light; the maudlin feet;
Faces that showed a blank and glittering smile,
The rising thrust of voices, beat on beat. . . .

You must forgive my incredulity—
One does not just emerge from all of this,
And step into a cab and meet the dawn;
Spring-dawn—the keen, new rapture of your kiss. . . .
I'm sure such stabbing visions come to taunt,
An arid heart where they had once made haunt.

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THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT

By JOHN F. HYLAN

WE hear much in these days about the Progressive Movement.

What do we mean by the Progressive Movement?

In its literal sense progressive means moving forward, and it might be interpreted to denote the advance of a good cause or a bad cause, but in the general acceptation of the phrase, we associate with it the idea of a revolutionary reaction in politics—an awakening with a determination to accomplish public results redounding to the benefit of the great mass of the people. Thus we look upon the Progressive Movement in contradistinction to the "Stand Pat Policy." In the Progressive Movement we look for the new politics moving toward betterment in economic, social, educational and domestic affairs as applied to the people as a whole. With the new vision we look back upon the "Stand Patters" with their *laissez faire* liberalism which means a liberalism and a profit for the favored few and which we know is a policy inadequate to meet the public demands and requirements of twentieth century conditions. So, running back for a number of years now the people of the United States have intuitively felt that something was somewhere wrong with our system or our administration of government. They groped in the dark, but could not see the light. They had faith in a saner future, but the way leading to a saner future was not made clear to them.

The people gradually have been awakening to a realization of the brutal truth and that brutal truth is that our politics has been founded upon individual interests and not upon public principles. Thus there has developed in America

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what we might designate the ethics of individualism, and this supposed new science treating of the principles of human morality and duty has simply opened the door wider and wider for individual selfishness, under the guise of building up a mighty industrial and financial power conducive to the welfare of all the people, while, in reality, it has resulted in the promulgation of laws protecting the exclusive few in the perpetuation of their selfishness and personal aggrandizement. And to formulate these laws and protect individualism we have in the United States an Invisible Government. This invisible government is so powerful that it undertakes to dictate, and through connivance with corrupt party leaders in control of party machinery often does succeed in actually dictating, the nominees of both the Republican and Democratic parties. Thus, whatever party attains success at the polls the candidate of that party will be under the control of the mighty unseen influence, public opinion is laughed at and special legislation for the favored few wantonly enacted at the first opportunity.

There are many ways in which the Invisible Government works. When the public official is fast and sure in the grip of this invisible power little time is wasted upon sentiment. He is given his orders. He obeys them. He was put in office for a certain purpose—to do certain things that the members of the Invisible Government expected him to do. Once in a while—not often, but once in a while—the servant disobeys the masters. Then comes a tragedy. The whole mighty force of the Invisible Government is turned against the servant who dares disobey. He is broken. If he succeeds in holding out till the expiration of his term of office he must have an iron nerve. But even then life is made a hell on earth for him. Forever more his political career is ended and when he finally leaves his office calumnies have been heaped upon his name, and so, oftentimes, his business career is ended.

If, on the other hand, by some spontaneous gesture of righteous reform at the ballot box the people place in office

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a man, independent of and free from the controlling influence of the invisible government the methods of this insidious and ingenious force are shifted.

First, they try to cajole him. They seek to impress him with the idea that they have a high regard for his mental endowments; that he has a great future before him in the political and business world and hints are made that with financial support there will be no limitations to his forthcoming achievements.

Failing in this method another attack is made. Attempts are made to reach his vanity and to make a social lion of him. If he responds to the numerous social functions, attends numerous dinners and makes the many speeches he is called upon to deliver, his official duties will be neglected. Such a result is the desired end to be attained by the Invisible Government.

But in the event that the man in office, who holds steadfast for policies beneficial to the people and against the machinations of the invisible government, refuses either to be cajoled or to have his vanity ministered to, instantly other forces are put in operation and ready foes quickly fabricate stories of his alleged shortcomings.

All sorts of petty annoyances are placed in the daily path of the office holder who fails to bend to the invisible will. He is nagged in the press. He is ridiculed. He is cartooned. He is never credited with the performance of a good public action, no matter how beneficial it may be for the masses. Even, in an underhanded manner—slyly and silently—his religion is attacked through secret, sinister sources like the Ku Klux Klan and other organizations not so secret. And so little by little the Invisible Government tries to break down the nerves and the health of the man in high office who dares to oppose its commands.

I have here outlined briefly some of the obstacles placed in the way of the conscientious office-holder, who is earnestly striving to carry out the solemn trust placed in him by the voters. In no manner have I exaggerated the situation;

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rather, I have underrated it. Only one who has been in office under such circumstances and under such conditions as here described can realize the enormity of the attempt to influence the action of an official contrary to duty to the public and to the dictates of his own sense of honor.

But, in a general way the people are beginning to understand that the one vital menace to the proper functioning of their Government is the Invisible Government back of the ostensible Government. They realize that the Invisible Government is made up of the Money Lords who attempt to rule, as they see fit, the men whom the people elect to office. And, understanding this and realizing this, it is the people themselves who have brought the Progressive Movement into the foreground.

In the Presidential campaign of 1912 many of us associated the Progressive Movement with the Progressive Party organized by Theodore Roosevelt; but it began far beyond that. It had its origin in the days when the Pilgrim Fathers revolted against the arrogance of a British Government, although even that Government was not so arrogant and dictatorial and lordly as the Invisible Government which rules us through official puppets today. The Progressive Movement is broader than any party. It is an outgrowth of conditions existing today just as it was the outgrowth of conditions existing in the days of the Pilgrim Fathers. It is a natural movement that comes inevitably when the mass of the people awaken to the fact that repeated and often successful attempts are made to exploit them or usurp their rights.

In the next Presidential campaign this progressive movement might find expression in the Republican or in the Democratic party. It will be manifested by the nomination of such men as Hiram Johnson, a progressive Republican, or William Randolph Hearst, a progressive Democrat. Knowing the records of these two men, I have no doubt for a second the fulfillment of a policy that would insure for the people of the United States a progressive movement

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that would mean progress and prosperity for the people themselves and the entire elimination of the Invisible Government. I would rejoice in the nomination of such men as I would have rejoiced in the nomination of a man like Abraham Lincoln, who rose above party lines and was greater than his party or any party that could have been sponsor for him.

Failure to make such nominations or failure to give expression to the progressive movement in the platform of either political party means the advent of a third party. This is almost inevitable, for blind partisanship is a thing of the past. Recent events have unmistakably demonstrated this to be a fact. Political parties must henceforth be more than mere instrumentalities for the perpetuation in office of the servants of Big Business and for the continued exploitation of the people. A free people are demanding more and more a free government. To insure this they are prepared to go to the ballot box and vote for any candidate whom they believe to be genuinely representative, regardless of his party label.

The framers of the Federal Constitution aimed to provide a government which should interfere with the personal rights of the individual as little as possible. The Invisible Government would encroach upon that idea, but the Progressive Movement has three phases in its idea of the conduct of the Nation and the State, and they are: The removal of all corrupt influences in the nomination and election of candidates and the freedom of such candidates when elected from special interest domination; a modification of all complicated structures of government, so that the people may easily control the machinery of government, and a readjusted working model of government that will bring about immediate economic and social relief in times of distress and maintain such conditions under normal circumstances.

No sensible man or woman is seeking Utopia, but to my mind it seems as if we might reach some middle ground where, on the one hand we might subdue the ultra extrava-

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gant phases of aggressiveness and on the other hand expand the narrow phases of ultra conservatism into what has been called the democracy of nationalism. What the American people want is a revision of political faith and a realignment of the old political parties. Rational politics should be behind political policies. The theory of American life as exploited in our politics is fundamentally wrong. Standing out boldly in the wrong are materialism, moneyism and individualism. And back of those three wrongs is the growing attempt to interfere with personal liberty. We are all human beings together—Catholics and Protestants and Gentiles and Jews. Whatever may be our religious beliefs we are all God's children and the different roads we are all traveling all lead to the same place. Perhaps some of us are better, perhaps some of us are worse than our creeds, but the point remains that the majority of us are earnestly endeavoring to bring about betterment for the people of the advanced civilization that is surely coming. How to bring about this betterment is the question. It can only be answered in terms of the Progressive Movement. The principles of this movement are practically the same in the Nation and in the State. In both Nation and State the Visible Government must be the real government and the Invisible Government must be made a memory of the past.

As for the application of the Progressive Movement in the city its importance cannot be too greatly stressed. Fifty per cent of the population of the United States is in the cities and one-tenth of the population is in three cities—New York, Chicago and Philadelphia. But the city, as well as the Nation and the State, is trammeled and hamstrung by the Invisible Government. To regulate the internal affairs of a great city from the halls of the State Legislature is an action so ridiculous on the face of it that no one outside of the special interests would attempt it. Municipal home rule is the first step that should be taken by a Progressive Movement to put a large city on an efficient basis. No fair-minded person will deny the right of citizens who pay

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the expenses of conducting the affairs of a municipality to decide for themselves through their properly-elected local officials how the money is to be expended. No one could fairly say that that right should rest with State legislators who are not residents of the city and many of whom, doubtless, are not at all familiar with the needs of the city. Quite a number of states have granted home rule to their cities. The right of self-government should be granted to all cities.

Now, as to the future of the Progressive Movement and as to the possibilities of what it has in store for us we must bear in mind, first of all, that to attain success the people must keep in constant training for a New Democracy. And, inasmuch, as this New Democracy is leading directly to a new life with new methods of expression there must be special training. We have a different world before us today than we had in the old days. The methods of yesterday will not answer the needs of today. There must be a readjustment all along the line. It is not the Democratic Party or the Republican Party or a third party that can be the salvation of the Nation, the State or the City. Political parties have no souls, but men and women have souls and it is their souls that must control the political parties if those parties are to take any part in the Progressive Movement. Back of the Progressive Movement are the souls of the men and the women of America.

And because these souls are back of the movement therein lies the salvation of America.

BEFORE CANDLEMAS

By May Folwell Hoisington

Snow on the lilac shoots;
Snow on the cloth-of-gold bush;
Snow in clots of cottony fluff on every budded twig.
I burn the holiday greens,
The mistletoe and the holly.
Snow may fall, but the solstice is past, and the year with Spring is big.

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AROUND THE EDITORIAL TABLE

WITH all the discussion about presidential candidates, what a pity that neither political party has thought of the great abilities of Governor Parker of Louisiana. Here is a man who is fighting single-handed for the most important of American principles—religious tolerance and a proper respect for law. Sooner or later this country must return to an observance of the tenets that underlie our origin and our progress, and we can conceive of no two ideas that are more essential to our future than those for which Governor Parker has made such a royal battle.

Standards there must be in every country and for every people who would live happily under the government of their creation. Today in America there is no standard of law observance—it has been said that between the Income Tax and the Eighteenth Amendment almost every man in the land is a law breaker. As we pointed out last month, even eminent jurists now go into court and with fine sophistry plead that inasmuch as the law of the land is a hardship, penalty for violation should not be enforced.

One does not have to be gifted with unusual imagination to see what we may face if several generations are allowed to grow up in such an atmosphere. If the Eighteenth Amendment is oppressive, corporations that formerly controlled United States Senators may yet go into court and plead as a justification for corrupting the electorate that the Seventeenth Amendment, which provides for the popular election of Senators, has deprived them of long wonted rights. Then surely the Sixteenth Amendment providing for an Income Tax was also a very distressing affair, the violation of which could be justified on the ground of extreme inconvenience. In fact, under the theory now rapidly becoming widespread, the bill of rights might be re-written, providing only for an inhibition against being caught. In other words, we are passing from an upright, courageous, frank and naive nation to one whose characteristics would be chicanery and sneaking disregard for fundamental principles.

It would be a fine thing to see the Democratic party nominate Governor Parker for President and to see him make a nation-wide campaign on just

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those two simple issues, issues that could not be befogged, issues that could be understood by every child. And if such a thing were possible there would be no question as to the victory and no question that with such a triumph of courage we would be started on a return to right thinking and better living.

* * *

Despite the belief of President Harding's friends that the way has been cleared for him, we fear that Attorney General Daugherty's announcement of his candidacy for a renomination will be regarded as a challenge in many quarters. The president is now in the position of one who has asserted his leadership, and is demanding the rewards of leadership. The answer of his opponents in his own party will be—Prove It.

The weakness of Mr. Harding's position up to the present time has been that he has privately stated that he was not interested in leadership and has publicly shown that he had no intention of and no appetite for making Congress bend to his will. The Republican party sadly needs leadership. It sadly needs a voice, and if the President can change his tactics and will become the forceful leader that many would like to see him, he will go to the Republican convention in 1924 far ahead of any of the contestants. But if there is no change in his course; if he is still the good natured and amiable man that he has been in the past, we look to see not one but several vigorous members of his party earnestly protest to his nomination.

The time has gone by when the mere fact that a man sits in the Presidential chair for four years means that he will be renominated. As has been said by a political writer in THE FORUM recently, a convention consisting of the Postmasters and the Internal Revenue collectors of the country would be an affront not only to the party, but to the country, and a nomination that was dependent purely on the Southern delegates would be worth very little.

Men close to the President himself—men who are as good friends as he has—have said that they felt that the present tendency of the administration would indicate a split similar to that which took place in 1912. President Harding is not like William Howard Taft and we believe that if he saw that his nomination was going to bring about the defeat of the party, he would not, as did Mr. Taft in 1912, insist on that nomination, but would withdraw and leave the party free to make its own choice. The stupid politicians who know nothing but machinery will, of course, give him different advice. Those who have intelligence will urge him to no hasty steps. The finest thing that he could do would

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be to advocate and urge the adoption of the Preferential Presidential Primary in as many states as possible that the will of the members of the party might be properly registered.

* * *

There has been little change of front on the Ruhr during the past month. Local animosities against the French troops have broken out here and there, resulting in the death of several officers and quite a considerable number of French soldiers. This has had little effect except in making the French more and more resolute and has tended to increase their hatred against Germany.

Behind the scenes, however, Germany appears beginning to weaken. In the last few weeks she has sent out feelers to London, Rome and to Washington, asking each of the three governments to mediate in order that some kind of a financial settlement may be reached. This offer of mediation has been refused by all three governments, the main reason given being that they do not believe in Germany's real sincerity.

It is believed, and believed rightly, that the affair is one between France and Germany which can only be settled between those two nations. Undoubtedly, if the Germans are willing to make a real offer to any of the three powers, it will be readily taken up and pressure will be brought to bear that France should accept it. Such an offer, however, appears to be as far off as ever and Germany, as she has always done, is merely attempting to evade the real issues by fair promises that lead nowhere.

* * *

Despite the fact that the Conference of Lauzanne split up without any settlement being reached and Turkey is still regarded very much in the light of an outlaw among the nations, the rush of foreigners to obtain concessions from the Angora government continues apace. Americans, French, Italians, and last but not least, the British, are all struggling to obtain railroad, mineral, building and other rights. It would appear, at the present time, that the American group, supposed to be backed by the Rockefeller interests in the person of Rear Admiral Chester, have obtained the greater influence. The Turks have not the same distrust of America that they have of England and France and possibly feel that the extra 3,000 miles of ocean may prevent constant meddling and irritation. It will be very interesting to note what concessions the Angora Government actually do give and on whom the light of their countenance may be shed.

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DISCUSSION ABOUT BOOKS

*SAMUEL TRAIN DUTTON**

THIS is the story of a good man and useful citizen whose life was always a progress, and whose horizons were always widening. The world upon which he opened his eyes was the narrow circle of a rural farming community in the New Hampshire town of Hillsborough, and the exact center of that world for him then was the rocky farm, one mile and a half from the village, which was the homestead of at least three generations of Dutton's.

The biography of Samuel Train Dutton is the record of an outstanding figure in American educational circles and the story of the life of an altruistic in whom were exhibited steadiness, seriousness of purpose and the desire to make the most out of opportunities and of life. His foundation was laid in the simplicity of a good New England home, where he first saw the light of day October 16, 1849. Boyhood inculcations were guided by his father, Jeremiah Dutton, a man of granite character like the soil that nourished him. Like so many of his Puritan ancestors, Deacon Dutton's best powers were continually devoted to the duty of justifying the ways of God to Man. And yet, at the age of eighty years, after a long life of brooding over the teachings of his faith and of austere fidelity to every jot and tittle of the law, he approached the end of life in uncertainty and apprehension, and in evident mental anguish said to a young member of his household, "I'm not sure that I'm saved." And Samuel Dutton's mother, gentle, generous and sympathetic, gave her son the warmth of her motherly spirit, which may have even imparted a glow to the sterner virtues of his father. Such was the rugged, ideal atmosphere in which a famous educator was reared.

Graduating from Yale in 1873, Mr. Dutton, who had already demonstrated his alertness by doing "boarding round" as a rural teacher at the age of 17, accepted a call to the principalship of the South Norwalk (Conn.) High School. After serving for four years in this capacity Mr. Dutton went to New Haven, becoming City Superintendent of Schools. From thence to his brilliant period as Brookline's school Mentor, when he organized the Brookline Education Society, instituting many scholastic

* "Samuel Train Dutton" by Charles H. Levermore. The Macmillan Company.

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reforms and subsequently his appointment as Superintendent of the Horace Mann Schools, New York City, with a concomitant degree as Professor of School Administration, the days of Samuel Train Dutton, educator unordinary, witnessed a succession of constructive departures. The school was the center of the social life of the community, he said.

Mr. Dutton withdrew from active service at Teachers College during 1914 and the ensuing years until his death in 1919 were spent in the forwarding of the cause of world peace. eH acted as a director of the International Peace Forum and was a member of the World Court League and the League to Enforce Peace. This work brought him into contact with many illustrious personages, Nathan S. Straus among them.

Chapter VI, in conclusion, contains messages of tribute paid to Samuel T. Dutton by those with whom he became associated in his educational and pacific endeavors.

OSBORN F. HEVENER.

PITY THE POOR CAVEMAN

IF the caveman joins a labor union or even goes over to the Communists who shall blame him? First the pack animal of the anthropologists, then the mount of the magazine section editors who have written him Sunday after Sunday these twenty years, now he is being broken to dray harness by the psychologists to draw a load of blame for all kinds of social and individual ills from the Lord's Day Alliance down to plain and ordinary neurasthenia.

William J. Fielding has written another book.* Its purpose is to show that within us, or rather behind our cultured selves there is the cruder, more primitive self, and that many of our individual troubles as well as a great number of social problems result from not keeping harmony between these two selves. It is pseudo-scientific work, interesting, sometimes instructive, many times misleading. From it the layman who has not had time or opportunity to keep up with the discoveries about glands or the newest psycho-something can get a lot of well coordinated information—which, however, will bear testing before using. The title of the book is its most misleading feature. A definition by Mr. Fielding of a caveman would be interesting—also impossible. For, after all is said and undone, while it is well to call him a Troglodyte, Mr. T. is a fiction like the ether of electrical science—a medium of explanation as well as of phenomena. Sometimes the caveman to which Mr. Fielding refers is a descendant far removed from the day and generation of the Troglodyte. As an example: the author points out that much of our religion and art testifies clearly

* "The Caveman Within Us," by William J. Fielding, E. P. Dutton & Company.

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to Phallic worship in our forebears. But these Phallic worshippers were not cavemen. A race which attains even Phallicism is well along the road of culture. Lang, or an authority equally acceptable, points out that the Australian bushman has not wit enough to perceive the relationship between copulation and conception.

Nevertheless, the work is an ambitious one. Beginning with a broad survey or man's physiological history, then passing rapidly over his cultural history and reviewing his neurotic makeup, the dual personality theory of the new psychology is set out and proven. The author's premises and conclusions being accepted at this point, it is no difficult matter to show that such a variety of phenomena as forgetfulness, sadism, certain forms of insanity, religious ecstacies, the radical or conservative frame of mind, the passions of lynching mobs or whole nations at war, professional reform movements—to list only a few dealt with in the volume and in the order given by the author—results from the outcropping of the nature of the caveman within us. According to this theory of things there are no perversions, but only excursions.

In all seriousness, one cannot help but wonder, in view of our unscientific attitude on such matters until yesterday, how the race developed to its present stage. Also, one must think of the future with both terror and great optimism. Only causes and cures have to date been investigated. The study of psychology is not as far advanced as that of physiology. Who can conceive of the advances that will come when prevention is as well understood as diagnosis?

Lacking as Mr. Fielding's work is in real scientific value it yet has a great social value. Psychology must be popularized if it is to grow out of being a laboratory study into a social science. Medicine had the same hurdle before it. There are still great prejudices against the hospital, vaccination, medical supervision in the schools, and even bathing. A readable work, not too encumbered with frightful scientific names, such as Mr. Fielding has written, will do much more for psychology than the Health Hints columns in the daily newspapers to which medicine is much more indebted than physicians will admit.

G. S. YORKE.

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*A BOOK ABOUT MYSELF**

ALL ye who novelists would be"—does that leave anybody in America out?—"hearken!" For here is the stuff of which novelists are made. Not that Theodore Dreiser in his "A Book About Myself" tells step by step how he became pre-

* "A Book About Myself," by Theodore Dreiser. Boni & Liveright Co.

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eminent in the profession of novel-writing (how could he when at the very end of the book he does not know what kind of job he is to get next?), but he tells what he saw, what happened to him, and how he reacted to these influences during a few of the formative years of his life, so that those who read may—run. Yes, run; for who would willingly suffer? And Dreiser certainly did suffer.

Perhaps it is an old story that every fine artist suffers; yet when it is continually being impressed on us through five hundred and two closely printed pages, we may finally be convinced. Possessed of a sensitive soul and an inquiring intellect, he could not help but be abashed by this world. It was not so much that there were "whole streets of degraded, dejected, miserable souls." What troubled him was the why of it. "Why didn't society do better by them? Why didn't they do better by themselves? Did God, who, as had been drummed into me up to that hour was all wise, all merciful, omnipresent and omnipotent make people so or did they themselves have something to do with it?" Ah, there's the rub.

You cannot shunt him off by accusing him of being a fool, a mope, an ascetic. Being human he desired worldly things very strongly and was willing to work hard to attain them. He admits there were moments when he was happy, but these moments were all so fleeting as to have vanished before one could drink of them to the deep. His deepest despair, moreover, is hardly ever caused by his own ill-fortune but by that of others. In Pittsburgh he was greatly moved by the condition of the steel workers, which prompted him to make this astute observation: "There was constant palaver about the equality of opportunity which gave such men as these"—Carnegie, Frick, Phipps—"their chance, but I could not help speculating as to the lack of equality of opportunity these men created for others once their equality at the top had made them." Nor does he hold a much milder brief for the journalistic Jehovahs—"The Boy Grew Older," notwithstanding—for of Joseph Pulitzer, founder of the *World*, he writes: "This man, because of his vital, aggressive, restless, working mood, and his vaulting ambition to be all that there was to be of journalistic force in America, was making a veritable hell of his paper and the lives of those who worked for him."

In that, as well as in many other notions, we may be shocked. But Mr. Dreiser has tried to be honest and could not be concerned with whether he might upset us. Unlike the autobiography of a distinguished dramatic writer published recently, Dreiser does not take the attitude, "Well, now I am a great man, and if anything I did in my youth seems menial, you should remember it was necessary as a step to the heights." He is genuinely modest and so does not have to apologize for every incident he relates. He covers only five years of his life, from nineteen to twenty-four

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years of age, but he does it thoroughly and sincerely, and since, as Carl Van Doren said in a recent lecture, "It is really only from autobiography that you learn anything," it is impossible to see how anyone with any pretensions to a serious purpose could fail to wish to read this book.

THEODORE MADOWSKY.

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*TWENTY CENTURIES OF CHRISTIANITY**

TIME was when religious discussions were taboo both in American parlors and the American press. But by the attention which the Grant-Manning debate gets and by the prejudices arising from Ku Klux Klan activities, religion ceases to be a closet topic. Hardly could there be, therefore, a more timely volume* than Professor Salomon Reinach's revision and expansion of the last five chapters of his *Orpheus,* wherein, fourteen years ago, he sketched the history of Christianity.

Here is a history of biases written without bias. True, it attacks activities of Christian sects and orders, but Christianity itself, "the Spirit of the Gospel . . . the highest manifestation of the human conscience seeking happiness in justice" is traced from its origins in Judiac and Hellenic thought down to its flowerings of today as represented by one sect or another, without a trace of partiality. No one could prove from the chapters of the work to what particular form of Christianity Professor Reinach himself adheres.

In dealing with Christian origins, he makes short shift of the historical value of the New Testament. In fact, he discards all of it except its moral teachings. In his preface, however, he warns us that he is no theosophist. "I do not share the opinion that they (the Gospel lessons) have as yet been superseded by some sort of lay philosophy or theosophy."

Beginning with the second chapter, which covers the period from St. Paul to Justinian, all controversial matter is done with. From then on the volume becomes purely historical, being entirely a recital of established facts in connection with the institutional side of Christianity. Until he deals with the Reformation, he therefore is confined to tracing the history of the hierarchy and rituals.

His history of the Reformation is dispassionate and thorough. He goes past points of controversy without comment and indulges in no speculations on causes, but taking up one of the European countries after another, he shows the action or reaction caused by the Reformation.

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*A Short History of Christianity from the French of Salomon Reinach, by Florence Simmonds. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

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Thereafter, as new sects appear or as new tendencies in the older sects manifest themselves, he places them in their proper places, chronologically and otherwise, in relation to Christianity as a whole, coming down in the last chapter to Modernists and Ultramontanes within the Catholic Church, and Christian Science and the Salvation Army without it.

In an epilogue M. Reinach does show prejudice. Being a Frenchman, he cannot forgive the Papal policy of neutrality during the Great War.

The rest of his task is so well performed that his very natural nationalistic outburst must be forgiven. It is no easy matter to produce a volume giving the proper places to Loyola, Mary Baker Eddy, Voltaire, Leo XIII, Calvin, Newman and Luther without slight to any of them, and without offense to the sensibilities of readers who have very partial opinions on all of them. And this he has done. A very scholarly and a very useful task it is.

A word on behalf of the translation from the French into English is not amiss. In a volume covering a great amount of technical matter, the English is rendered perfectly idiomatic and without any detectable violation of the French original.

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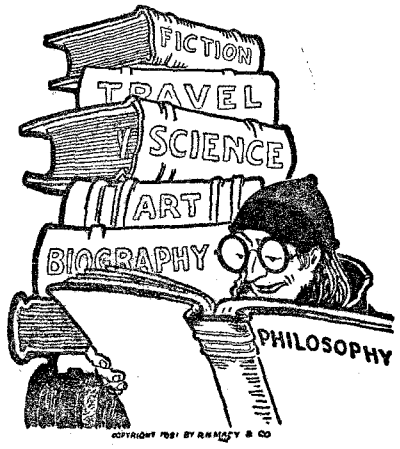

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Books Received for Review

"If Hamilton Were Here Today," by Arthur Hendrick Vandenberg. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

"Demian," by Hermann Hesse. Boni & Liveright.

"Human Australasia," by Charles Franklin Thwing. Macmillan Company.

"If Britain Is to Live," by Norman Angell. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

"A Short History of the International Language Movement," by Albert Leon Guerard. Boni & Liveright.

"Ebony and Ivory," by Llewelyn Powys. American Library Service.

"Teodoro, the Sage," by Luigi Lucatelli. Boni & Liveright.

"Kai Lung's Golden Hours," by Ernest Braman. George H. Doran Company.

"The Return of the Middle Class," by John Corbin. Charles Scribner's Sons.

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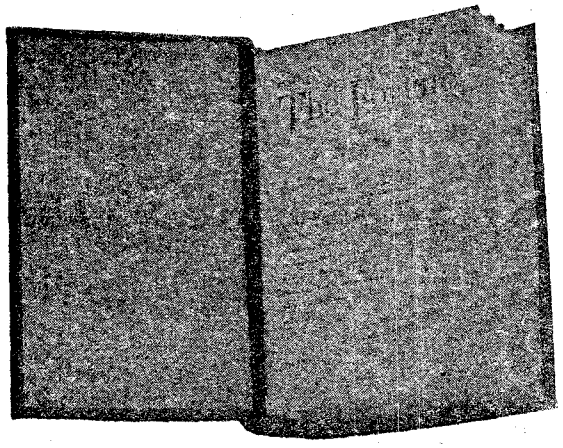

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